

# The Classical Journal

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SOUTH WITH THE COOPERATION OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW  
ENGLAND AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES .

Volume XXX

DECEMBER, 1934

Number 3

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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

VOLUME XXX

DECEMBER, 1934

NUMBER 3

## Editorial

### REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

The following analysis of the membership of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South and allied Associations is based on the Secretary's annual report as given at Memphis, March 29, 1933. The decrease in membership in several states is undoubtedly due to lower salaries and to changes in the curriculum of secondary schools. Very few of the smaller high schools now offer more than two years of Latin. While figures are not available for the country as a whole, the trend may be easily seen from the situation in Michigan, where in 1932-33 only 17.8 per cent of the accredited schools not included in the North Central Association offered Latin beyond the first two years. Where such conditions prevail, Latin is generally taught by a teacher who regards some other subject as her major interest.

Table VI shows the cash receipts and disbursements for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1934, as recorded in the report of the Auditor, F. E. Ross, Certified Public Accountant, Ann Arbor.

The reader will observe (Table I) that March 15, 1934, the membership of the Association was 2035—391 (16 per cent) less than that recorded on March 15, 1933.

According to the table, all but six states show losses in membership. Of those states responsible for the losses, the range is from 2 members less in Arkansas to 73 members in Illinois; stated in terms of percentages the losses range from 3 per cent in Missouri to 38 per cent in Louisiana.

The following states are shown to have lost one fourth or more of their membership since March 15, 1933: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Nebraska, Oklahoma, South Dakota, West Virginia—all southern or western states. More than half of the total loss of 391 members comes from five states: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, and Ohio.

Those who like to see the silver lining will derive some satisfaction from the following facts:

While ten states were losing one fourth of their membership, the following were able to hold their losses to one tenth or less: Arkansas, Kentucky, Mississippi, Missouri, Ohio, and Virginia.

Five states show gains in membership, as compared with four states last year. These are Colorado, New Mexico, North Dakota, Tennessee, and Utah, with the faithful four members from Wyoming standing by the Association as in former years. There is also a slight gain recorded from "Out of Territory."

In terms of members the state showing the greatest gain is Tennessee with six members. Here we seem to have proof that the state in which the Annual Meeting is held derives material as well as spiritual benefit. It will be remembered that Virginia gained in membership the year before.

The state showing the greatest percentage gain is North Dakota (42 per cent). While this showing is based on a very small number, it is especially significant when we consider the small salaries paid in that state.

The following states have lost fewer members than the year before: Kentucky, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, West Virginia, and the Province of Ontario. May we not regard this as an indication that we have practically reached the bottom of the depression and may soon hope to see gains in our membership?

While, unfortunately, the number of new members does not balance the cancellations, there are many new enrollments from several of the states.

One more ray of hope appeared in the spring and still appears. Members are paying their dues more promptly and in some instances sending in their checks for two years' back dues.

## ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE JOURNAL

The total number of annual subscriptions (non-members) appears as 501, as compared with 551 of the preceding year—a decrease of 50 as compared with 165 of the year before.

States showing no decrease in annual subscriptions are: New Mexico, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Wyoming. Gains have been made in Arkansas, Georgia, Iowa, Virginia, Ontario, and foreign countries.

There is a very slight increase in paid student subscriptions.

The total of 2770 (Column 5) is a loss for our Association of 511, as compared with a decrease of 520 for the preceding year.

## OTHER CLASSICAL ASSOCIATIONS

The status of other Classical Associations is indicated in Tables II, III, and IV. New England fares better than all other Associations with a decrease in membership of only 16, or 3 per cent. The Pacific States have 30 fewer members—a decrease of 15 per cent, and the Atlantic States have suffered a loss of 56 members, or 13 per cent. The combined membership of other Associations then stands at 991 as against 1093 of the year before.

FRED S. DUNHAM  
Secretary-Treasurer

TABLE I.—THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH

	March 15, 1934				March 15, 1933				Total
	Memb.	Ann'l Sub.	Paid Stu. Sub.	Free Cop. to Stu.	Memb.	Ann'l Sub.	Paid Stu. Sub.	Free Cop. to Stu.	
Alabama	12	5		2	19	19	5	11	35
Arkansas	17	5		1	23	19	3	3	25
Colorado	43	4			47	40	7		47
Florida	23	6		15	44	35	7	11	53
Georgia	24	19		1	44	35	16	6	57
Illinois	294	56		24	374	367	66	32	465
Indiana	204	29	6	16	255	239	42	28	309
Iowa	84	18		4	106	113	16	27	156
Kansas	63	18		9	90	85	19		104

TABLE I—Continued

	March 15, 1934				March 15, 1935					
	Memb.	Ann'l Sub.	Paid Stu. Sub.	Free Cop. to Srs.	Total	Memb.	Ann'l Sub.	Paid Stu Sub.	Free Cop. to Srs.	Total
Kentucky	45	13			58	49	17		4	70
Louisiana	22	9		4	35	36	10		5	51
Michigan	153	29	4	13	199	188	36	6	7	237
Minnesota	48	13			61	61	14			75
Mississippi	35	11		14	60	39	12		19	70
Missouri	97	25		2	124	100	30			130
Nebraska	42	9		2	53	59	11			70
New Mexico	10	1			11	9	1			10
North Carolina	47	12		10	69	55	12		9	76
North Dakota	10				10	7				7
Ohio	284	42	7	38	371	313	44	11	24	392
Oklahoma	23	12		2	37	32	18		7	57
South Carolina	20	10		18	48	26	10		22	58
South Dakota	19	6			25	28	8			36
Tennessee	55	20		2	77	49	22		10	81
Texas	64	33		8	105	84	35		12	131
Utah	9				9	7				7
Virginia	93	14		6	113	103	13		7	123
West Virginia	17	5	3	4	29	26	7		5	38
Wisconsin	106	28		9	143	125	29		11	165
Wyoming	4	2			6	4	2			6
Ontario	37	12			49	47	9			56
Foreign		35			35		30			30
Out of Territory	31			10	41	27			27	54
	2035	501	20	214	2770	2426	551	17	287	3281

TABLE II.—THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND

	March 15, 1934			March 15, 1933		
	Membs. Subs.	Ann'l Subs.	Total Subs.	Membs. Subs.	Ann'l Subs.	Total Subs.
Connecticut	96	8	104	105	10	115
Maine	15	8	23	24	9	33
Massachusetts	278	29	307	274	29	303
New Hampshire	23	7	30	26	7	33
Rhode Island	31	3	34	25	4	29
Vermont	14	1	15	14	2	16
Out of Territory	17		17	22		22
	474	56	530	490	61	551

TABLE III.—THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

	March 15, 1934			March 15, 1933		
	Membs. Subs.	Ann'l Subs.	Total Subs.	Membs. Subs.	Ann'l Subs.	Total Subs.
Arizona	1	3	4	2	5	7
California	130	19	149	146	21	167
Idaho	3	4	7	4	5	9
Montana	3	5	8	4	8	12
Nevada	1	1	2	1	1	2
Oregon	16	6	22	22	4	26
Washington	12	9	21	17	10	27
Out of Territory	—	—	—	—	—	—
	166	47	213	196	54	250

TABLE IV.—THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE ATLANTIC STATES

	March 15, 1934			March 15, 1933		
	Membs. Subs.	Ann'l Subs.	Total Subs.	Membs. Subs.	Ann'l Subs.	Total Subs.
Delaware	1	2	3	3	1	4
District of Columbia	13	13	26	12	11	23
Maryland	21	10	31	21	13	34
New Jersey	39	24	63	48	32	80
New York	161	73	234	182	72	254
Pennsylvania	113	78	191	137	102	239
Out of Territory	3	—	3	4	—	4
	351	200	551	407	231	638

TABLE V.—SUMMARY OF SUBSCRIBERS TO THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

	March 15, 1934	March 15, 1933
Members of the Middle West and South.....	2035	2426
Members of Other Associations.....	991	1093
Annual Subscriptions.....	804	897
Free Copies to Seniors.....	214	287
Paid Student Subscriptions.....	20	17
Exchange Copies.....	16	13
	4080	4733

TABLE VI.—CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

September 1, 1933, to August 31, 1934

*Receipts*

Members' Dues and Subscriptions	\$3,513.77
Annual Subscriptions to the CLASSICAL JOURNAL	1,951.29

## Classical Associations:

Atlantic States	\$642.75	
New England States	557.50	
Pacific States	182.50	1,382.75
<i>Classical Philology</i>		312.84
Student Subscriptions		17.50
CLASSICAL JOURNAL Index		24.00
Advertising		893.57
Sale of JOURNALS from Stock		49.70
Interest		152.95
Addressograph Service		10.67
Refund of Postage		.75
Total Receipts		\$8,309.79

## Disbursements

Printing of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL	\$5,394.15	
Expenses of the Editor's Office	532.28*	
Expenses of the Secretary-Treasurer's Office:		
Addressograph	\$ 9.53	
Auditing, 1932-1933	22.50	
Clerical	1,520.10	
Insurance	18.06	
Office Supplies	40.18	
Postage	230.02	
Printing	29.24	
Sundries	62.29	1,931.92
Annual Meeting		100.16
Vice Presidents' Membership Campaign		289.68
<i>Classical Philology</i> Subscriptions—University of Chicago Press		312.84
Purchase of old JOURNALS		1.17
Refunds:		
Members' Dues and Subscriptions	\$10.34	
Annual Subscriptions to the CLASSICAL JOURNAL	11.00	21.34
Returned Checks		16.50
Total Disbursements		8,600.04
Excess of Disbursements over Receipts		\$290.25
Cash in Farmers and Mechanics Bank, September 1, 1933		639.64
Cash Balances, August 31, 1934		\$349.39
Farmers and Mechanics Bank	\$ 6.60	
State Savings Bank	342.79	\$349.39

\* Includes \$1.28 for "Hints for Teachers."

The Horace Cruise will be the second and longer of two classical cruises in 1935—covering the eastern Mediterranean, Greece, the Islands, the coast cities of Asia Minor, Troy, and Constantinople. The first cruise will include the western Mediterranean,

the Spanish Peninsula, Carthage, Sicily, and the Dalmatian Coast. The two together offer classical students a comprehensive study of almost the entire Mediterranean region.

W. M.

#### SUMMER SCHOOL IN GREECE

The Editor takes additional pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to the seventh Summer Session of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, the announcement of which may be found in the advertising section of the present issue. The last four sessions, under the direction of Professor Louis E. Lord, have been gratifying in every way. The attendance each summer—sixteen to twenty—has been large enough to provide the stimulus that comes from common interests and interchange of ideas; it has been small enough to make trips to the various centres of prime interest in Greece not only comfortable but also, under the efficient leadership of Dr. Lord, both delightful and profitable. The Session of 1935 promises to lovers of Greek art, Greek history, and Greek literature—and this should include all teachers of Latin as well as of Greek—even more than the previous ones in the way of enjoyment, information, and experience.

W. M.

## THE CLASH BETWEEN CLODIA AND CICERO<sup>1</sup>

EMMA CROWNOVER  
Nashville, Tennessee

When two strong forces come together in an impact, we may expect some sort of violent demonstration. When a dignified, conservative Cicero comes in contact with a dashing, "emancipated" Clodia, a clash is inevitable, especially when the turbulent days of the latter years of the Roman Republic furnish such an ideal background for the conflict. Cicero, representing the old order with its standards of morality and its subordination of women, was confronted by an equally striking figure in Clodia, the exemplification of the "new woman" with her advanced ideas of conduct and of increased freedom for the female sex.

There can be no doubt that Cicero was justified in accusing Clodia of certain misdemeanors, but nevertheless some of his accusations were probably groundless. A wealthy aristocrat, a direct descendant of the Claudian and Metelline lines, and the wife of her prominent cousin, Metellus Celer,<sup>2</sup> she doubtless defied conventions as openly as she pleased. Caecilia, her mother, had somewhat set her an example in 80 B.C., when Clodia was fourteen, in receiving the accused Sextus Roscius into her home at Rome and protecting him when he was on trial for the murder of his father;<sup>3</sup> and Clodia's grandmother, the mother of Caecilia, was the unfortunate woman about whose conduct, Plutarch relates, Cicero spoke disparagingly in a dispute with Metellus Nepos.<sup>4</sup> When Cicero had been asked the question several times, "Who was your father?" Cicero replied, "Your mother has made the answer to such a question in your case more difficult."

<sup>1</sup> Read at the thirtieth annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South at Memphis, Tennessee, March 29, 1934.   <sup>2</sup> Cf. Cic., *Fam.* v, ii, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cic., *Ros. Am.* 27; 147-149.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Plut., *Cic.* xxvi, 6-7.

It is hardly doubtful that Clodia lived in licentious surroundings while her parents were living, for she and her two sisters were accused of carrying on incestuous intrigues with their brother Publius.<sup>5</sup> Although this accusation was made by both Cicero and Catullus when they were especially bitter toward Clodia, nevertheless there must have been some ground for the statement, as it was made on different occasions by the two men, who were embittered for entirely different reasons, and it is unlikely that Cicero would have gone so far as to repeat it continually if he had not believed it. Again, the charge may have been false, and Clodia, high-born lady that she was, may have been so occupied with her her own pursuits that she disdainfully ignored anything that Cicero might have to say about her after he became an enemy of her family. Unfortunately Clodia was not gifted with the oratorical powers of Cicero. His extreme bitterness may have arisen from the fact that the not so youthful orator was a little jealous of the "Palatine Medea"<sup>6</sup> as he himself later termed her. Clodia was by no means an ordinary person but was probably quite as intriguing as Cleopatra, for she was capable of bringing together the most brilliant politicians, poets, and orators of her time. We may infer from Plutarch that Cicero was a frequent visitor at her "salon."<sup>7</sup> And we know that she exerted a tremendous influence on the life of the poet Catullus and on the life of the young politician Caelius, whom Cicero calls "the best-informed politician in Rome."<sup>8</sup>

All that can be said of the licentiousness of Clodia and her family is that there was general belief in it in the time of Cicero. If, when she was past thirty-five, she was alluring enough to attract "three hundred lovers," as Catullus in gross exaggeration declares,<sup>9</sup> she must, we should imagine, have had some practice in love-making when she was a girl, and both her beauty and her high station in life had licensed her to go to whatever extremes she desired. But whether or not Clodia was the profligate woman that Cicero painted is yet to be learned.

Of Clodia's three brothers<sup>10</sup> only two, Appius and Publius, are

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Cic., *Fam.* I, ix, 15; *Cael.* 32; 36; 38; 78; *Sest.* 16; 39; Plut., *Luc.* xxxiv, 1; Cic. xxix, 2; Catullus LXXIX.    <sup>6</sup> Cf. Cic., *Cael.* 18.    <sup>7</sup> Cf. Plut., *Cic.* xxix, 2.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Fam.* II, viii, 1.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. xi, 17.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Varro, *R. R.* III, xvi, 2.

frequently mentioned by Cicero. The other brother, Gaius, may have been so overshadowed by the stronger personalities of his brothers that he did not command Cicero's attention. Nevertheless he was of considerable importance in Rome, for he was praetor in 55 B.C.<sup>11</sup> Cicero developed a strong hatred for both Appius and Publius, and it is evidently for this reason also that Cicero so vehemently attacked Clodia with his volley of defaming words in his defense of Caelius. If it is true that Cicero and Clodius were friends up to the time of Clodius' trial, as Plutarch would have us believe,<sup>12</sup> and if Clodius had been one of Cicero's right-hand men in the suppression of the Catilinarians, it may be possible that the break in their friendship did not come about until some time during 62 B.C. as a result of the intrusion of Clodia's younger brother upon the celebration of the rites in honor of the Bona Dea in the house of the pontifex maximus, Caesar.<sup>13</sup>

Clodius, who was in love with Pompeia, the wife of the pontifex maximus, attempted to slip into Caesar's house unobserved, disguised as one of the music girls who were to take part in the ceremonies, to which no men were admitted. With his smooth, unshaven face and *pulcher* features he would have successfully accomplished his designs if he had not been betrayed by his masculine voice. However, he managed to escape, and he denied the charge when he was brought to trial with the defense that he was not in Rome on the day on which the celebration occurred. Cicero voluntarily testified that the accused had visited him at his own home and that they had conversed on several matters on that day.<sup>14</sup>

Plutarch believed that Cicero was influenced by his wife, Terentia, to give this testimony not so much for the sake of truth as to keep peace in his family; for the biographer suggests in his gossipy way that Cicero was influenced against the family of Clodia by Terentia, who bore a grudge against Clodius because Clodia wished to marry Cicero.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Orelli, *Inscriptiones Latinae*, 579, note.      <sup>12</sup> Cf. Plut., *Cic.* xxix, 1.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Plut., *Caes.* x, 1-7; *Cic.* xxviii, 1; *Cic.*, *Att.* i, xii, 3; *Att.* i, xvi; *Har. Resp.* 37; 44; *Mil.* 73; Dio xxxvii, xlv.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Att.* ii, i, 5; Plut., *Cic.* xxix, 1.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Plut., *Cic.* xxix, 1.

This record of Plutarch's seems to be at variance with certain statements of Cicero's that he made against Clodius, accusing him of every infamy and implying that he was involved in the Catilinarian conspiracy.<sup>16</sup> It is not easy to determine whether Cicero was overlooking Clodius' services to him or whether Plutarch had some information that is unavailable at the present time.

It can be readily believed that Cicero was infatuated with Clodia's charms as Plutarch implies,<sup>17</sup> for he recognized the magnificence of her large and burning eyes, to which he repeatedly refers in his letters to Atticus, when he applies to her the Homeric adjective *βοῶπις*, "ox-eyed,"<sup>18</sup> but it is hardly probable that any kind of love affair existed between them. Cicero seems to have lived a virtuous life in spite of the prevailing laxity of the times. He was too much wrapped up in his own activity and in his own self-love to spend his hours trifling with the pastimes of his contemporaries, whom he took such delight in condemning. Although it is true that Cicero made frequent visits to Clodia's home, which was near his own on the Palatine, this probably can be explained by the fact that Clodia was brilliant as well as beautiful; and there existed between Cicero and his neighbor a mutual admiration for each other's intellectual endowments.

Clodia was also a friend of Atticus, Cicero's best friend, who took no part in political life, and it may be that he served as a link in their friendship; for frequently Cicero would convey some information to Atticus, which he said Atticus had probably already learned through *βοῶπις*.<sup>19</sup>

Regardless of how it arose, this feeling of animosity which existed between Cicero and the family of Clodia continued at least to the time of Clodius' death, and it was Clodius who, after having himself elected tribune, effected Cicero's exile by having the law passed that whoever put to death a Roman citizen without

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Mil.* 37; *Har. Resp.* 5: *etiam eius familiaris Catilina*.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *Plut., Cic.* xxix, 2.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Cic., Att.* II, ix, 1; xii, 2; xiv, 1; xxii, 5; xxiii, 2.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Cic., Att.* II, xxii, 5: *qui per βοῶπιω ex ipso intellegere possis*; also ix, 1; xiv, 1; xxiii, 3.

a trial should be banished.<sup>20</sup> Although Cicero was not specified, it is evident that he was the one at whom Clodius aimed.<sup>21</sup>

Cicero tried to keep up a semblance of friendship in his correspondence with Appius, as, for example, when he says, "I learned from my own brother that you had been no enemy of mine even in those days when it was almost inevitable that you should act the part of one."<sup>22</sup>

Of the lively correspondence between Appius and his successor to the province of Cilicia thirteen letters of Cicero are extant.<sup>23</sup> The first was written before Cicero's appointment, and the rest extend from 51 B.C. to Cicero's departure from Asia. Since Appius was influential in aristocratic circles, Cicero probably courted his favor. Some time after Cicero's avowal of friendship for Appius he complained bitterly that Appius was the only one of his colleagues among the augurs who was opposed to his recall from exile,<sup>24</sup> and after Cicero returned to Rome, Appius continued to support the projects of Clodius.<sup>25</sup> According to Cicero neither brother had any regard for law and order, and he accused them of being party to innumerable scandals both at Rome and in the provinces. He mentioned the scandalous conduct of the two consuls in 54 B.C., of whom one was Appius.<sup>26</sup> He said that the elder brother not only recklessly plundered the province of Cilicia but also allowed certain of his subordinates, notably his son-in-law, Marcus Brutus, to go unpunished for serious offenses.<sup>27</sup> While Cicero was in exile in 58 B.C., Publius persecuted Terentia and her children and had Cicero's villas and residence on the Palatine burned and on the site of the latter erected a hall to "Freedom."<sup>28</sup>

In the spring of 62 B.C., when Metellus went to Cisalpine Gaul to assume the governorship of the province that Cicero had relinquished in his favor,<sup>29</sup> because Cicero did not wish to leave

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Vell. Pat. II, xlv: *qui civem Romanum indemnatum interemisset, ei aqua et igni interdictur.* <sup>21</sup> Cf. Dio xxxviii, xiv; Plut., *Cic.* xxx; Vell. Pat. II, xlv.

<sup>22</sup> *Cic., Fam.* III, x, 8.

<sup>23</sup> *Cic., Fam.* III.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Att.* IV, i, 6; *Pis.* 35; *Sest.* 77; 85; 87; 89; Dio xxxix, vi, 3.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *Att.* IV, ii, 3; iii, 3 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Att.* IV, xvii, 2; xv, 7; *Q. Fr.* III, i, 16.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Fam.* III, viii, 5 ff.; *Att.* VI, i, 2; 6; ii, 8.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *Cic., Mil.* 37; *Pis.* 26; *Domo* 59-64; *Sest.* 54; *Att.* IV, ii, 5; 7; Plut., *Cic.* xxxiii, 1; Dio xxxviii, xvii; Appian, *Civil Wars* II, 15. <sup>29</sup> Cf. *Cic., Fam.* v, ii, 3.

Rome, he was probably accompanied by his attractive wife. Clodia was at this time at the age when a woman is most fascinating, when her beauty has fully matured, and when life has afforded her the experience necessary to appear before men to the best advantage. It was probably during this year that she met the young Catullus at Verona and in that romantic atmosphere so captivated him by her beauty and charm that he was never again free from her spell.

When Metellus died in 59 B.C., the year after his consulship, there were suspicions that Clodia had poisoned him, and Cicero openly accuses her of doing so.<sup>30</sup> It is hardly possible that she would stoop to such drastic measures, for it is clear that Metellus gave her the greatest freedom. As long as he was alive, Clodia held the position of wife to a high Roman official and she had to be somewhat discreet in her amours. And that she, a woman of education and social position, did not flaunt her vices so openly as Cicero would have the world believe is evident from the fact that Catullus wrote an epistolary poem to Allius, a man of rank, expressing his gratitude for Allius' service in arranging a secret meeting place for the lovers.<sup>31</sup> If Clodia had been an ordinary woman of the street, secrecy would not have been necessary.

In 59 B.C., when her husband died, all semblance of restraint and conventionality was probably swept from her. She was left a widow at thirty-five with all of Metellus' wealth at her disposal. Although she passed under the nominal control of her brother, Cicero's bitter enemy, she really became independent, and instead of fading into the background as one of the ancient women of Rome might have done after the death of her husband Clodia stood out more brilliantly than ever in the rôle of the "Widow of the Palatine." She ignored Catullus now that she was free to entertain in her home all the young men whom she desired. Marcus Caelius Rufus, Cicero's young friend, who had distinguished himself by his brilliant oratory, was at this time claiming Clodia's attention and it was to him that Catullus addressed the poem lamenting the fact that Rufus had stolen his mistress from him.<sup>32</sup> In 56 B.C. he addressed another poem to Caelius, after the latter had been ac-

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *Cael.* 24; 60; Quint. viii, vi, 53.

<sup>31</sup> LXVIII, 57-69.

<sup>32</sup> LXXVII.

cused by Clodia of extortion and of attempted poisoning. In this he expresses a fellow feeling for Caelius, who also probably had been cast aside by Clodia.<sup>33</sup> In his jealousy Catullus no doubt unduly exaggerated Lesbia's degradation.<sup>34</sup>

It is probable that Clodia did not know Marcus Caelius Rufus intimately until the latter part of 59 B.C., after her husband had died, for during the previous years he had been in Africa, where he went in 62 B.C. with Quintus Pompeius Rufus, the proconsul, as one of his lieutenants.<sup>35</sup> Caelius was one of the fashionable young men of Rome and was the sort to amuse Clodia for a while. He was tall and handsome,<sup>36</sup> with a keen wit,<sup>37</sup> and a graceful agility at dancing,<sup>38</sup> an accomplishment that gave him a start in the race for the favor of Clodia, who herself must have been fond of dancing. He also, with his magnificent purple robe, showed excellent taste in dressing.<sup>39</sup>

Under the pretext of wishing to be near the Forum and business Caelius rented from Clodius a house in the aristocratic quarter of the Palatine near the residence of Clodia,<sup>40</sup> and it is hardly a matter of conjecture that his real reason for securing a house in Clodia's neighborhood was a desire to be within reach of Clodia herself. We can easily see that the young Caelius, who was then but twenty-six, would be attracted by the beauty and wealth of his neighbor. Although Cicero says that Clodia made advances to Caelius, which were rejected,<sup>41</sup> this statement is not necessarily true; the complaint of Catullus that Caelius had robbed him of his mistress<sup>42</sup> tends to disprove it.

In 57 B.C. Caelius prosecuted Lucius Sempronius Atratinus on a charge of bribery; the latter was defended by Cicero and acquitted. Before the verdict on the first charge had come in, Caelius accused Atratinus on the charge of corruption.<sup>43</sup> To avenge his father, who had been so bitterly attacked by Caelius, the young

<sup>33</sup> LVIII. <sup>34</sup> Cf. XI, 17 ff. <sup>35</sup> Cf. Cic., *Cael.* 73: *Pompeio pro consule contubernalis*.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *Cael.* 36; Gell. XVII, i, 11.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Tac., *Dial.* xxv, 28: *amarior Caelius*; Quint. x, ii, 25: *asperitatem Caelii*.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Macrobius, *Sat.* II, 10; Cic., *Sest.* 54; 116.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *Cael.* 77: *purpurae genus, etc.*

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *Cael.* 20.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *Cael.* 36.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. LXXVII: *Rufe mihi frustra ac nequicquam credite amico*.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. *Cael.* 56; 76.

son of Atratinus, instigated by Clodia and her brother, brought a suit against Caelius on two charges, both relating to Clodia: extortion and attempted poisoning.<sup>44</sup>

Herennius and Balbus supported the side of Atratinus.<sup>45</sup> Caelius defended himself; a fragment of his speech is preserved by Quintilian.<sup>46</sup> Crassus<sup>47</sup> and Cicero supported his defense, and almost the whole speech that Cicero delivered in behalf of his young friend and former pupil is extant.<sup>48</sup> This speech gave Cicero an opportunity to avenge himself on the whole Clodian family by giving Clodia the worst possible reputation and by leaving nothing unsaid that would add to her reputation for profligacy.<sup>49</sup> This "Medea of the Palatine" and Caelius' residence near her are blamed by Cicero for all the misfortunes that befell Caelius.<sup>50</sup>

On the day of Caelius' trial Clodia was made to suffer for everything that the orator believed he had borne at the hands of Clodia's family. The orator laughed at the woman, the "lady friend of all,"<sup>51</sup> who dared to bring a prosecution against Caelius. Cicero advanced the "wild-oats" theory for his former pupil<sup>52</sup> and attempted to blacken Clodia's character in contrast with that of Caelius.<sup>53</sup> He contended that some allowance must be made for youth.<sup>54</sup>

Cicero, the same man who could not condemn severely enough Clodius' intrusion upon the Bona Dea celebration, "touches playfully on the debaucheries and Mohock pranks of his favorite Caelius."<sup>55</sup> According to Cicero there is to be found in Caelius no love of luxury, no extravagance, no debt, no lasciviousness, no devotion to banquets or to gluttony; in short, Caelius is a model of perfection,<sup>56</sup> while Clodia, if we are to believe Cicero's accusations, is the most dissolute of women. He employs no half-way measures in speaking of her promiscuity<sup>57</sup> and of her ex-

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* 51. <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* 25; 27. <sup>46</sup> Cf. xi, i, 51. <sup>47</sup> Cf. *Cael.* 18; 23. <sup>48</sup> *Pro Caelio.*

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* 49: *ut non solum meretrix sed etiam proterva meretrix procaxque videatur.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* 18: *hanc Palatinam Medeam migrationemque hanc adulescenti causam sive malorum omnium sive potius sermonum fuisse.* <sup>51</sup> *Cael.* 32: *amica omnium.*

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Quint. xii, xi, 6; Cic., *Cael.* 9: *hunc a patre continuo ad me esse deductum.*

<sup>53</sup> Cf. *Cael.* 42.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> Edward Spenser Beesley, *Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius*: London, Chapman and Hall (1878); New York, G. E. Stechert and Co. (Anastatic Reprint, 1924), 47.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. *Cael.* 44.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* 38.

pressions of vice.<sup>58</sup> He says that her reputation is a subject of common report among men and that Baiae itself could speak pretty plainly. It was his opinion that she did not care to conceal her vices but rather preferred to flaunt them in public in broad daylight.<sup>59</sup>

Cicero's arguments for Caelius' defense, as Tyrrell and Purser have remarked, are set down in very logical form but are not at all convincing.<sup>60</sup> He puts the charge in the logical form of a dilemma, but it admits a weak argument. He says to Clodia, "If Caelius told you for what purpose he wanted the money that he spent on effecting the murder, you are an accomplice; if he did not tell you, you did not give the money at all."<sup>61</sup> Caelius was accused of getting the money under false pretenses; he had pretended that he wanted it to pay the expenses of some games that he was intending to give.<sup>62</sup>

Whenever Cicero mentions Clodia, he uses his most stinging invective. He claims that her charges have no foundation but are prompted more by a petulant quarrel than by criminal investigation.<sup>63</sup> If only that woman were taken away, Cicero says, there would no longer be any charge against Caelius.<sup>64</sup> This fiery orator would have us believe that Caelius tired of Clodia and that in attempting to cast her off he had infuriated her so that she originated these charges against him. Cicero intimates that there is proof of some very extraordinary intimacy between the two,<sup>65</sup> but which of the lovers caused the break is still a matter of conjecture. Cicero takes Caelius' side and is supported by Quintilian and Plutarch. Quintilian relates that Caelius gave his mistress the coarse nickname "Quadrantaria," the "two-bit" girl, because she sold her favors cheap,<sup>66</sup> and Plutarch has recorded an aetiological myth to account for the name.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* 47.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Cic., *Cael.* 47.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. R. Y. Tyrrell and L. C. Purser, *Correspondence of Cicero*: Dublin, Hodges, Figgis and Co.; London, Longmans Green and Co. (1890), III, Introd., p. xlvii. <sup>61</sup> *Cael.* 52.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* 30. <sup>64</sup> *Ibid.* 32. <sup>65</sup> *Ibid.* 31: *signum cuiusdam egregiae familiaritatis*.

<sup>66</sup> Quint., VIII, vi, 53.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Plut., *Cic.* xxix, 4: Clodia was called "Quadrantia," because one of her lovers had deceived her with a purse of small copper money instead of silver, the smallest copper coin being called a quadrans.

Four years before this trial of Caelius, Cicero had expressed his hatred for Clodia in a letter to Atticus: "I hate the woman, an unsuitable partner for a consul, for she is quarrelsome, and she is always fighting with her husband."<sup>68</sup> It was Cicero who first voiced the accusation that she had poisoned Metellus,<sup>69</sup> and he tried to prove that her whole life showed her to be a woman of unexampled and audacious profligacy.<sup>70</sup> He calls up from the grave old Appius Claudius the Censor to judge his immoral descendant.<sup>71</sup> Cicero says that, since Appius cannot see her, his grief will be the less. He then contrasts the censor, that "boorish old man,"<sup>72</sup> with Clodius, "who is in his fashion the most urbane person."<sup>73</sup> According to Cicero this boy, who was very fond of his sister, advised her to give up her thoughts of Caelius, for he had no affection for her. Clodius tells her to go to her gardens near the Tiber where she has fitted up an apartment near the place where all the youths go to bathe. There she will have the opportunity every day of gratifying herself; so why should she bother with Caelius, who despises her?<sup>74</sup>

Cicero contends that Caelius cannot be guilty of Clodia's charges, for his habits are wholly foreign to such atrocious wickedness,<sup>75</sup> and the jurors are informed that the matter that they have to decide is one about which little doubt can arise: "Whether a rash, libidinous, furious woman seems to have invented an accusation, or a dignified and wise and virtuous man is to be believed to have given his evidence with a scrupulous regard for the truth."<sup>76</sup> Since in Cicero's eyes Caelius is too honorable to commit this infamous crime, the orator tells the jurors that Caelius spends his time in warding off the attacks that Clodia's enmity and hatred have instigated.<sup>77</sup> Cicero promises that Caelius' conduct will nevermore be at variance with their own, provided that their conduct is satisfactory to the Republic.<sup>78</sup> With a final appeal to the jurors to acquit Caelius, upon whom his old father is dependent, Cicero closes his defense.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>68</sup> *Att. II, i, 5: ego illam odi male consularem. ea est enim seditiosa, ea cum viro bellum gerit.* <sup>69</sup> *Cf. Cael. 60; Quint. VIII, vi, 53.* <sup>70</sup> *Cf. Cael. 49.* <sup>71</sup> *Ibid. 34.*

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid. 35; 36: illum senem durum.*

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.: qui est in isto genere urbanissimus.*

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid. 36.* <sup>75</sup> *Ibid. 53.* <sup>76</sup> *Cael. 55.* <sup>77</sup> *Ibid. 75.* <sup>78</sup> *Ibid. 77.* <sup>79</sup> *Ibid. 80.*

As a consequence of Cicero's eloquence and the lack of evidence against Caelius the young man was acquitted, but two years later in 54 B.C. he was again accused by the Atratinii at the instigation of Clodia. "And I fear," said Cicero, "that offensive and savage Pola Servius will lead the accusation. For our friend Caelius is being violently assailed by the Clodian family."<sup>80</sup>

There is no record of the outcome of this legal struggle, and Clodia at the age of thirty-eight disappears from our view. There is no indication that she lost her power and influence after her break with Caelius and Catullus, but some scholars with more imagination than information tell us that Clodia "plunged deeper and deeper into obscure amours"<sup>81</sup> and in the "meantime, always in need of money in order to shine, had taken other lovers."<sup>82</sup>

Clodia may have been alive in 44 B.C., ten years after the death of Catullus, for during 45 and the following year Cicero corresponded with Atticus about a piece of land that he wanted to buy from Clodia.<sup>83</sup> But it is uncertain whether this was his old enemy who had had relations with Atticus, and it is also unlikely that she is to be identified with the Clodia whom Cicero mentions in a letter to Atticus as the mother-in-law of Lucius Metellus, who was a tribune in 49 B.C.<sup>84</sup>

The fact that Cicero no longer brings Clodia to the forefront by defaming her character must not be accepted as proof that she relinquished her position as the queen of Roman society. For after Caelius' trial, when Cicero was courting the favor of Clodia's brother, Appius, the orator must have realized that it would be undiplomatic for him to continue to defame Appius' sister, and he could not gracefully compliment her in an effort to please Appius after he had taken such pains before to give her a deplorable reputation.

<sup>80</sup> *Q. Fr.* II, ii, 2.

<sup>81</sup> Gaston Boissier, *Cicero and His Friends*, Translated by Adnah David Jones: New York, G. P. Putnam and Sons, 174.

<sup>82</sup> Gaston Delany, *Cicero*, Translated by Farrell Symons: New York, E. P. Dutton and Co. (1931).

<sup>83</sup> Cf. *Att.* XII, xxxviii, 4; XI, 1; xlvii, 1 ff.; XIV, viii, 1.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. *Cic.*, *Att.* IX, vi, 3.

## VEGETIUS ON THE DECAY OF THE ROMAN ARMY

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For many hundreds of years in classical antiquity writers *utriusque linguae* devoted at least a part of their interests to military science and tactics either directly by composition of a treatise on some phase of the art or indirectly by carefully planned detail and emphasis in a larger work. A list of these works and their writers would coincide roughly with the inner boundaries of the classical period, beginning as it would with Aeneas Tacticus and concluding with Vegetius, the author of *De Re Militari*, with whom we are here concerned.<sup>1</sup>

Of this author less is known than discussed. His full name seems to have been Flavius Vegetius Renatus; that he was a Christian there can be no doubt<sup>2</sup> and that he lived in the Western Empire is readily demonstrable, as various students have pointed out, from the Latinity of his treatise and his intimate knowledge of certain minor points,<sup>3</sup> notwithstanding his express designation in three manuscripts<sup>4</sup> as *Comes Constantinopolitanus*.<sup>5</sup> His exact

<sup>1</sup> Since this paper was first written there has appeared the interesting article by Colonel Spaulding. "The Ancient Military Writers," CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXVIII (1933) 657-669, which describes many of these works as well as the later ones of the Middle Ages.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *De Re Mil.* I, 1; II, 5; III, 5; IV, 35; IV, 40.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., e.g., *De Re Mil.* I, 20; III, 23. However, could not Vegetius perhaps have gained this information by word of mouth?

<sup>4</sup> Cod. Harl. 2551 (s. 14); Vat. 2193 (s. 14); Vat. 4494 (s. 14).

<sup>5</sup> This is probably due to a confusion at some time caused by the subscription found in one class of manuscripts: *Fl. Eutropius emendavi sine exemplario Constantinopolim consul. Valentiniano Aug. VII et Abieno*.

social standing unfortunately is not so easily deduced. Most of the manuscripts of his work begin *Fl. Vegeti Renati Viri Inlustris Comitis Epitoma Rei Militaris Libri IIII*. According to the *Notitia Dignitatum*,<sup>6</sup> the title *vir illustris* designates the first class of society while *comes*, unqualified,<sup>7</sup> belongs to the second class, *spectabilis*. But some of the manuscripts<sup>8</sup> have *comes sacrum*, i.e., *comes sacrarum* [*largionum*]; if this belongs in the title, then the difficulties are removed, for that particular designation falls within the first class.<sup>9</sup> Since the theses of various students that Vegetius was obviously not a military man himself,<sup>10</sup> and therefore certainly not a *comes rei militaris*, have been clearly proved, the likelihood of his having been a *comes sacrarum largionum* is greatly enhanced.

The period in which the *Epitoma* was written is roughly fixed by the reference within the text (I, 20) to *divus Gratianus* (d. 383), and by the subscription, already referred to,<sup>5</sup> which fixes the *terminus post quem non* at 450 A.D. Vegetius further indicates that the work was written over a period of several years but under the reign of one emperor, whom, however, he nowhere names.<sup>11</sup> If we grant the modest period of ten years after completion

<sup>6</sup> Ed. O. Seeck: Berlin (1876), 103-104; 158.

<sup>7</sup> I.e., *comes [rei militaris] Italiae, Africae, etc.* *Comes* is lacking in MSS Q, V, D, P, while *vir illustris* is found in all.

<sup>8</sup> π (Cod. Pal. 909 [s. 10]), Cod. Vat. 4497 (s. 14).

<sup>9</sup> The form *sacrum* (probably corrupted from *sacrarum* or *sacr*) could have been omitted in some MSS because it was not understood, and the two words, *comes sacrum*, omitted in other MSS for the same reason. This idea has been advanced by Ch. Schöner, *Studien zu Vegetius*. Program, Erlangen (1888), 1-15.

<sup>10</sup> E.g., Lang, *Epitoma Rei Militaris*<sup>2</sup>: Berlin (1885), introd. v-xvi, quoting also Turpin de Crissé, *Commentaires sur les institutions militaires de Végèce*<sup>2</sup> (1783), I, 123: *Végèce n'était point militaire*, and III 45: *Végèce, souvent minutieux, écrit sur l'art de la guerre sans avoir jamais vu un camp*; Schöner, *op. cit.*, 10-11; and Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*<sup>2</sup>: London (1924), I, 18: "Vegetius was a theoretical admirer of the old legion, and wholly destitute of any insight into the meaning of the changes in military science that had taken place during the last hundred years." If Oman means that Vegetius understood nothing of tactics, we can probably assent; we shall show later how clearly he understood the other significances of the army changes.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. I, introd.: *De dilectu igitur atque exercitatione tironum . . . imperator invictus . . . conamur ostendere*; and II, introd.: *Nam libellum de dilectu atque exercitatione tironum dudum tamquam famulus obtuli; non tamen culpatus abscessi. Nec formido iussus adgredi opus, quod spontaneum cessit impune.*

before the work of Eutropius would be needed, we have a span of fifty-seven years (383–440) to deal with. Within this period come the western emperors Valentinian II (375–392), Theodosius I (379–395), Honorius (395–423), Jovinus (411–413), Constantius (421), Valentinian III (425–455). Unfortunately the same set of facts has been used to prove divergent theories as to the identity of the emperor honored by the dedication.<sup>12</sup> Suffice it to say here (since it is not feasible to present the complete arguments for the case) that one of the big factors in establishing the date of the work is the failure of Vegetius to mention by name the fall of Rome in 410, although he mentions in 1, 20 the *excidia tantarum* (= *tot?*) *urbium*. Of course, he may have written before that date; but we can postulate that he wrote some twenty or twenty-five years later and in that period of chaos felt no cause to single out one example, however striking it may seem to us. While in our opinion the problem hardly seems capable of solution, we believe the later dates are the more likely (in the absence of anything to prove them impossible) because of the wider destruction resulting from invasions and the greater confusion of affairs civil and military. As we shall see later, Vegetius himself can hardly be our guide, for his chronological-historical accuracy is not above question.<sup>13</sup> Let us turn now to the major problem under consideration in this paper.

<sup>12</sup> It may not be uninteresting to give here some of the "solutions" to this question; while we would not subscribe to all the arguments of any of the theses, there are good points in all and, in our opinion at least, nothing that would totally invalidate the possibility of the general argument. HONORIUS: J. W. Förster, *Quaestiones Vegetianae*. Program, Rheydt (1895); VALENTINIAN III: O. Seeck, "Die Zeit des Vegetius," *Hermes* (1876), 61–83; Lang, *op. cit.*<sup>2</sup>; THEODOSIUS: M. Planck, "Der Verfall des römischen Kriegswesens am Ende des 4. Jahrhundert nach Christ . . .," *Zeitschrift . . . zur 4. Säkularfeier der Universität Tübingen*: Stuttgart (1877); Lang, *op. cit.*<sup>1</sup>; Berlin (1869); Schöner, *op. cit.*; D. Schenk, "Flavius Vegetius Renatus: Die Quellen der Epitoma Rei Militaris," *Klio*, Beiheft 22 (1930); VALENTINIAN II: Stewech, *Fl. Vegeti Renati . . . Epitoma*: Antwerp (1585); Bessel, "Spicilegium ad Fl. Vegeti Libros . . .," *Miscellanea Philol. Critica Syntagma*: Amsterdam (1742); Schwebel, *De Re Militari*: Argentour (1806); Oman, *op. cit.* Two MSS,  $\pi$  and V, assign the work *ad Theodosium imperatorem*; Lang, *op. cit.* vii, says this is clearly a later addition.

<sup>13</sup> The remark of Schenk, *op. cit.* 4, is interesting and worth noting: *Aus der Widmung an den Kaiser dürfen wir mit Sicherheit schliessen, dass bewusste Fälschungen oder grobe Nachlässigkeiten mit Sorgfalt vermieden sind, wobei allerdings Irrtümer durch Missverständniss der Quellen bei dem Nichtfachmann keineswegs ausgeschlossen sind.*

Various reasons have been advanced by historians in explanation of the decay of the Roman army, as, for example, the passive resistance of the Christians or the influx of barbarians in such numbers as to render the retention of the old and successful Roman method of fighting impossible. In any case, chief emphasis is usually placed on external forces, or conditions, over which the Romans themselves had no control. In other words, the decay had its inception on the outside and gradually worked its way into the body of the Roman army—a strange anomaly in itself. Vegetius,<sup>14</sup> on the other hand, though in no way denying the existence of unfavorable external conditions, finds the trouble germinating within the army itself, undermining it by a slow but certain process, and eventually sapping it of all its strength. The final collapse, therefore, was not the result of some irresistible force from the outside but merely the inevitable, external manifestation of a long and slow internal process of destruction.

Early in his work<sup>15</sup> Vegetius points out that the Romans had improved and increased the protective armor worn by their cavalry in imitation of the Goths, Huns, and others. The infantry, on the other hand, was gradually stripped of one piece of armor after another. Up to the time of *divus Gratianus* the foot-soldier had some protective covering for head, body, arms, and legs. Then, Vegetius maintains, as a result of long years of peace, the soldiers grew weak and lazy and rarely put on their protective armor. Soon the soldiers requested the authorities to abolish altogether the custom of wearing a coat of mail and a helmet. The request was granted, with the sad consequence that in the encounter with the Gauls the Romans suffered severely from the showers of arrows sent at them. Worst of all, the Romans failed to learn a lesson from their defeats, the destruction of their cities, the devastation of their farm land: They did not bring back the panoply which had helped in making their former armies invincible.

In addition to the actual disadvantage accruing from wearing

<sup>14</sup> Cf. for a general discussion Schöner, *Studien zu Vegetius*. Program, Erlangen (1888), 28–34; Planck, *Das römische Kriegswesen* (1877), 55–60; Oman, *op. cit.* I, 17–18.

<sup>15</sup> *De Re Mil.* I, 20.

too little armor, there was, Vegetius insists,<sup>16</sup> also a psychological factor involved. The unprotected soldier meditates flight rather than battle. The archer and the standard bearer may serve as examples. The former, of course, needs both hands to manipulate the bow and therefore cannot avail himself of a shield. According to the new scheme of things, he has very little protective armor; so he stands in the conflict a helpless victim. Similarly, the standard bearer cannot employ a shield, since he carries the standard with his left hand. Since his head and body are thus entirely unprotected, he offers an easy target to the arrows and weapons of the enemy. In a manner somewhat reminiscent of the style of Tacitus, Vegetius summarizes the situation about as follows:

Too awkward is the coat of mail; too heavy, the iron helmet. More importance is attached to comfort than to the dear native land. Men are unwilling to accustom themselves to that which is hard merely at the start and which, through practice and time, becomes a slight and negligible burden. But this fondness for ease and comfort, like every error, inflicts its own punishment: wounds, death, and, what is even harder and more abominable, captivity; also flight and treason are the inevitable consequences. To escape drill and to reduce or avoid the carrying of burdens, men are willing to be slaughtered like dumb animals.

Though much could be said in favor of Vegetius' view, we must not, if we wish to be fair, neglect to consider the words of Caesar:

*Toto hoc in genere pugnae, cum sub oculis omnium ac pro castris dimicaretur, intellectum est nostros propter gravitatem armorum, quod neque insequi cedentes possent neque ab signis discedere auderent, minus aptos esse ad huius generis hostem.*<sup>17</sup>

In continuing this chapter (I, 20) Vegetius refers to the soldier of old:

Why did our forefathers call the infantry a wall (*murus*)? [he asks, and then proceeds to answer his own question]. For no other reason than the fact that it resembled a closely locked wall, with the helmets, breastplates, shields, the glittering weapons, also the greaves and the metal armlets for the left arm which the archer wore. No hostile force could lightly undertake to break through this wall; nor was the attempt ever made without heavy loss or repulse on the part of the enemy.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *loc. cit.*

<sup>17</sup> *De Bello Gallico* v, xvi, 1.

Another cause, according to Vegetius,<sup>18</sup> that tended to weaken the army was the neglect of the Romans in the matter of fortifying their camps by palisades and trenches. The evil results of this neglect were manifold. In the first place, the camps became more and more subject to attacks by the enemy or, at least, to harassing and disturbing gestures by the hostile cavalry. In the second place, in case of a Roman defeat the soldiers had no safe place of refuge where they might rally and make a second stand. In the third place, in the absence of a fortified rallying place there was no barrier to obstruct or retard the further advance of a victorious enemy. The result of all this was that the Romans had to trust to the mercy of their enemies or patiently wait until the latter had had their fill of blood and slaughter.

If a slight digression is permissible, it may be noted that the evolution of the fortified camp, though a history of decay, is not without interest. According to Livy, "*Pyrrhum castra metari primum docuisse.*"<sup>19</sup> Suetonius implies that in the time of the Caesars the tents of the generals in the camps were adorned most elaborately.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps this example set in the general's tent may have had a bad effect upon the whole camp, with the result that the camp became more of a show place than a place of protection.

Still another factor that contributed to the breakdown of the Roman army, according to our author,<sup>21</sup> was the neglect of some phases of military drill and training. A feeling of security, arising from a prolonged period of peace, had rendered men weak and had turned them to civil pursuits, so that military drill at first was carelessly handled and finally abandoned. Vegetius illustrates his point by referring to the twenty years and more of peace following the First Punic War. During this period, he asserts, the Romans became weak and enervated, so that they could not withstand Hannibal when the Second Punic War broke out. Only after an imposing array of defeats and disasters did the Romans regain their former prowess in battle. From these bitter experiences Vegetius draws the lesson that recruits must be carefully

<sup>18</sup> Cf. I, 21.

<sup>19</sup> xxxv, xiv, 8.

<sup>20</sup> At any rate, *Iul. Caes.* xlv tells us that Julius Caesar carried about with him on his campaigns *tessellata et sectilia pavimenta*.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. I, 28.

chosen and, after their induction into the service, kept in constant training. He adds the remark that it is far more economical to keep the youths in training than it is to hire foreign mercenaries. (He might well have listed other, and more important, advantages that would naturally accrue from this policy.) Concerning the selection and training of recruits Vegetius offers many suggestions in his first book. Typical chapter headings in this connection are: "Do recruits from the city or the country make better soldiers?" "Physical characteristics of recruits"; "What occupations produce good soldiers?"

To the decay of the Roman legions Vegetius devotes an especial discussion. "The legions," he says, "still exist in the army, but in name only, for their strength is broken."<sup>22</sup> He advances various reasons for the all but total collapse of this once almost invincible fighting unit. In the first place, he maintains, the leaders have become incompetent as a consequence of too prolonged inactivity. In the second place, too much favoritism was apparently shown in the distribution of rewards. Vegetius complains bitterly that undeserving soldiers often were honored, whereas brave and skilful soldiers, with an actual record of achievement, were neglected. In the third place, proper attention was not given to the matter of making replacements. Legions could become depleted in various ways: Advancing age and completion of service were regularly recurring causes; death, ill health, and desertion were responsible for other gaps in the ranks; in addition, the disgrace of a dishonorable discharge was by no means unknown. Suetonius relates that on one occasion an entire legion suffered this disgrace:

*Et nonam quidem legionem apud Placentiam, quamquam adhuc in armis Pompeius esset, totam cum ignominia missam fecit; aegreque post multas et supplicis preces nec nisi exacta de sordibus poena restituit.*<sup>23</sup>

Vegetius feels that recruits should be selected for replacements monthly, if possible, but annually at least; otherwise the strength of the legion will be considerably diminished. In conclusion Vegetius lists several other causes which had contributed to the decay of the legions, as, for example, too severe service, too heavy arms,

<sup>22</sup> II, 3.

<sup>23</sup> *Iul. Caes. lxix.*

delayed rewards, and too strict discipline. These factors, he maintains, tend to make service in the legions unpopular, with the natural result that Roman youths seek service in the armies of the allies, where these objectionable features do not exist and where, Vegetius emphasizes, rewards are promptly bestowed for meritorious service.

In spite of Vegetius' pessimistic view on the low estate to which the legion had fallen in his day, he is not without hope concerning its future.<sup>24</sup> The faults and vices that have crept in through carelessness, he feels, can be corrected, and the discipline of earlier days restored. The restoration of the legion to its former efficacy will, in our author's opinion, benefit the future generations as well as render the disgraceful past forgotten. Vegetius concludes with the sage observation that a good, well-trained army costs the state no more by way of sustenance than does an undisciplined and inefficient one.

Before departing from this discussion of the legion, it is worth while to observe Vegetius' description of the might and self-sufficiency of this far-famed fighting unit at its best. A well-ordered legion, he maintains,<sup>25</sup> resembles a strongly fortified city, since it always carries everything that is needed for a battle. It never fears a sudden attack of the enemy, since it is always ready, even on the open field, to throw up a protecting barrier around itself on a moment's notice. Furthermore, it has in its ranks all types of soldiers and of weapons. It was, indeed, a far cry from a legion of this description to the weakened and degraded legion of Vegetius' day. His lament was entirely justified.

It is interesting to observe, as has already been noted in connection with the legion, that Vegetius is not pessimistic, in general, concerning the future; on the contrary, he feels that the former prowess and success of Roman arms can be restored. He writes somewhat as follows:

In order to defeat barbarians in battle, there is need to pray God that through his inspiration the emperor may feel inclined to re-create the old legions out of recruits. There is need of a short time only, and our youths, if selected with care, trained in arms, and drilled in every type of warfare, not

<sup>24</sup> Cf. II, 3.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. II, 18.

only in the early morning but also in the afternoon, will be the equal of the warriors of old, who once conquered the whole world by their valor. The Romans must not refrain from the attempt at rehabilitation on the pretext that a new *Zeitgeist* now prevails. It is the duty of the emperor to resurrect the good features of the past for the benefit of the state. He should improve them by new additions. Every matter appears to present difficulties before one puts his hand to the task and attempts to accomplish it. If prudent and experienced men are chosen and put in charge with a view to reestablishing the legions and the army of old and to introducing modern innovations, success will follow soon. It is a fact that if there is an earnest desire, if the most competent men are employed, if expense is not shirked, even an apparent impossibility is soon rendered an actuality.<sup>26</sup>

It is difficult to determine how much importance may safely be attached to the arguments of Vegetius. A brief survey of his sources may throw some light on this problem.

Vegetius names in I, 8 as his sources Cato the Elder, Cornelius Celsus, Frontinus, Paternus, and the Constitutions of Augustus, Trajan, and Hadrian, disclaiming all originality and personal knowledge in his historical treatment of the appropriate training for the good old Roman army.<sup>27</sup> This imposing array of names at once piques our curiosity. What is actually Vegetius' first-hand association with them? The sanity and general conservatism of the latest detailed study of this subject are, in the main, impressive. Schenk<sup>28</sup> argues from the internal evidence of direct citations, style, and content that for Book I Vegetius used only Celsus (and through him Cato);<sup>29</sup> for Book II, only Paternus (i.e., *Constitutiones Augusti, Traiani, Hadriani*); for Books III and IV, only the *De Re Militari* of Frontinus (and through him Varro in Book IV). According to this argument Vegetius employed the sources he named and those alone; but Parker<sup>30</sup> refutes in detail, on the basis

<sup>26</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>27</sup> In Book I Vegetius treats of the selection and training of recruits; in Book II, of the old army; in Book III, of the forms of land warfare; in Book IV, of "engines" and naval warfare.

<sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.* This dissertation fills 88 pages; the conclusions are summed up on pages 26, 39, 61, 81, and 87.

<sup>29</sup> In the same way he accounts for the other specifically named citations within the text—e.g., those to Vergil and Sallust.

<sup>30</sup> H. M. D. Parker, "The Antiqua Legio of Vegetius," *Classical Quarterly* (1932), 137-149.

of epigraphic evidence, terminology, organization, et cetera, the findings of Schenk regarding the legion of the second century, concluding that some ten or more chapters of Book II "were derived from a later source than Paternus, which Vegetius has included without naming it among the *alii complures* whom he consulted."<sup>31</sup> It is easy enough to confuse the problem of *Quellengebrauch* with the location of parallels that could also supply the general information; such a procedure is fortunately no longer looked upon with favor.<sup>32</sup>

No one would defend Vegetius on the charges of minor inconsistencies, disregard for chronology, and confusing details of information.<sup>33</sup> But Vegetius is not writing a textbook for actual instruction,<sup>34</sup> as he himself says; neither is he presenting an historical account of the progressive changes in military organization. He is presenting to the emperor in compendious form a method of revising the army and its tactics on the basis of the old form of the Roman army.<sup>35</sup> From the point of view of a writer in

<sup>31</sup> *Loc. cit.* 143.

<sup>32</sup> H. Bruncke, *Quaestiones Vegetianae*: Leipzig (1875), argues for the detailed use of Hyginus, with miscellaneous references from Caesar, Livy, Florus, et al.; Schanz, "Zu den Quellen des Vegetius," *Hermes* XVI (1881), 137-146, disagrees with Bruncke's methods and in some ways foreshadows Schenk; Förster, *op. cit.*, argues that Vegetius is a mere dilettante whose work can in no way be trusted; E. Sander, "Zu Vegetius," *B. P. W.* (1928), 908-910; *idem*, "Frontin als Quelle für Vegetius," *B. P. W.* (1929), 1230-1231; *idem*, "Die historischen Beispiele in der Epitome des Vegetius," *B. P. W.* (1930), 955-958; *idem*, "Die Quellen von IV, 1-30. . .," *B. P. W.* (1931), 395-399; *idem*, "Die Hauptquellen der Bücher I-III der Epitoma rei militaris des Vegetius," *Philologus* LXXXVII (1932), 369-375, argues for the use of miscellaneous sources; F. Lammer, "Zu Vegetius . . . IV, 1-30," *B. P. W.* (1931), 798-800, disagrees with the findings of Sander on the same passage.

<sup>33</sup> These facts have been pointed out in great detail by Förster, *op. cit.*, and by Schöner, *op. cit.*

<sup>34</sup> Vegetius' popularity in the middle ages was tremendous; some 150 MSS are still extant. After the ninth century and until the advent of cavalry as the main arm he was the leading authority and source for military science and tactics not only to practical soldiers but also to the literary leaders; e.g., Rhabanus Maurus based a great part of Book I and several chapters of Book II of his section "De Procinctu Romanae Militiae" in his *De Anima* for Lothair I on the work of Vegetius; and Aegidius Romanus depended upon him for his military information in his *De Regimine Principis* in the thirteenth century, to mention only two examples. Numerous early editions and translations into most European languages are found.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Bk. I-IV, intro.

the fourth century of our era anything from 300 B.C. to 150 A.D. would not illogically come together under that heading. The juxtaposition in our text of two suggestions, based upon experiences or facts separated by hundreds of years, in no way detracts from their value. The patriotic writer<sup>36</sup> can see only the ruinous and ruined contemporary society about him; in contrast to this his attention is eagerly fixed upon the stanch solidarity of the past history of his race.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. I, 1; I, 28; IV, 30 in particular. Schöner, *op. cit.*, holds that Vegetius also wrote to satisfy his vanity (citing in support II, 3 and the general tone of the work) and because of his position as *comes* (II, 3; II, 1). With this view Seeck, *op. cit.*, disagrees. A reading of Vegetius' treatise is sufficient to show its nature; the genuineness of his patriotic concern is beyond question.

## WHAT IS OUR AIM IN SECONDARY LATIN?<sup>1</sup>

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It is the purpose of this discussion—ambitious as it may seem and perhaps foolhardy—to define a central aim in the teaching of secondary Latin, with the hope that our classroom procedures may make an effective contribution to the attainment of a common goal. We have no intention in these troublesome days of reviving the controversy over the validity of objectives. Until such time as we have scientific proof we shall more wisely say "*Requiescat in pace*" to the ashes of validity and fondly bid its *manes* "*Ave atque vale*." While objective proof for all our convictions might give us some degree of comfort, we cannot afford in a race with catastrophe to halt the progress of civilization until the scientists shall have completed their laboratory experiments. If history records no such precedent, then we should be content to carry on with such evidence as we have to support our hypotheses.

We have no important complaint against the accepted values inherent in the "ultimate" objectives of the Classical Investigation. In their application, however, we find that their abuses almost outnumber their legitimate uses when we examine the numerous secondary Latin textbooks or consider the conflicting varieties of teaching procedures. The "immediate" objective, because of its various and superficial interpretations, has caused no little trouble. We should be guilty of only a slight hyperbole if we were to say that "the progressive development of the ability to read and understand Latin as Latin" has been interpreted in as many ways as there are teachers who teach or writers who write.

<sup>1</sup> Read at the thirtieth meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South at Memphis, Tennessee, March 31, 1934.

Fortunately, teachers of Latin are still in accord in many respects. We are agreed that the study of Latin is rich in certain intangible values that are as good today as they were in the past. We have also become especially conscious in the past decade of certain useful activities that received less emphasis in earlier days. We refer to such activities as the oral reading of Latin "with proper expression and with due regard to grouping of words"; the study of English words of Latin derivation and practice in finding the meaning of Latin words through association with related English words; and the study of Latin word formation, with practice in observing the common elements in pairs of related Latin words and with practice in seeing how prefixes and suffixes affect meaning or part of speech.

In certain other respects teachers of Latin lack the homogeneity that once characterized the profession. It is becoming increasingly apparent that among the teachers of secondary Latin there are emerging at least three distinct schools of thought. One group looks upon the so-called "ultimate" values of Latin exclusively as by-products and believes that in practice these values should be left to incidental teaching or automatic transfer. A second group views the "ultimate" objectives as the sole justification for the inclusion of Latin in the secondary curriculum. It is this class that is responsible for the use of the words "ultimate" and "immediate" as applied to the classification of objectives. These words were introduced at a time when subject-matter was frowned upon and direct experience was in the ascendency, while at the present time the voice of organized experience is beginning to be heard again and the leaders of educational thought are defending the correlation of high-school subjects. With this horizontal classification it is apparent that the former vertical point of view, which mobilized objectives as "immediate" and "ultimate," does not apply. I hope to be able to show that both of these technical words are objectionable in other respects, although I shall use them for the time being in order that we may better understand each other.

We have reserved for the third group an ever-increasing body of teachers who are beginning to see more clearly the true place of Latin in the high-school curriculum. Like the first group, these

teachers have maintained their faith in the Latin language as an effective instrument in teaching boys and girls to think with some degree of precision and continuity and as a means of developing facility in the verbal expression of ideas. Those of us whose views and practice would place us in this third class of teachers regard many of the values that we have been calling "ultimate" as deserving of conscious attention and see in them an apperceptive means of enriching not the subject in general but the study of the Latin language. Such a view has a distinct advantage since it removes from the valid ultimate aims the feeling of detachment, remoteness, and unattainability. In fact, we have ceased calling them "ultimate" objectives and choose to think of them as correlating or apperceptive procedures. Since these are the values that offer special incentives to the study of Latin, we may even refer to them as motivation, if we can use that much abused word without blushing. With this point of view we are less likely to overwork any one of them in our technique. For example, an activity involving the ability to determine the meaning of an unfamiliar English word of Latin derivation is closely associated with a Latin word occurring in the text and is so taught that the association shall make a real contribution to the knowledge and appreciation of Latin vocabulary. If the English derivative is already known, the connection with the Latin word is easily seen and its apperceptive value is accordingly greater in determining the meaning of the Latin word. If the principle of association is applied to the study of Latin prefixes and suffixes, we are especially fortunate, since the Latin prefixes commonly studied have come over into English without change (provided we recognize assimilation in the spelling of Latin words), while the suffixes have undergone only a slight change in spelling. Consequently, the pupil is studying Latin whether the association is between two related Latin words or between related Latin and English words.

Some teachers seem to be at a loss as to what use they should make of "appreciation of the influence of Roman civilization upon the course of Western civilization." Again, it is not the validity of the objective that is open to criticism so much as its abuse. There is no one ultimate objective against which we may charge

more sins of omission and commission. In some instances the objective is allowed to get out of bounds, with the result that the teacher eventually awakens to the discovery that he has been teaching history or social science or Roman art and that he has been neglecting the mastery of Latin. In other instances collateral reading is neglected at the expense of interest and depth of insight. Not only do we need to be on our guard lest our enthusiasm for Roman private life and political institutions lure us away from our primary aim, but we should be equally alert in recognizing the symptoms of impoverished imagination and neglected cultural reading. Since the pupil cannot be expected to read between the lines to any great extent, it is obviously the business of teacher and textbook alike to supply the atmosphere and background so essential to appreciation. Supplementary reading should, therefore, be encouraged but not accepted as a substitute for Latin.

The Report of the Classical Investigation lists among its ultimate objectives certain disciplinary objectives, such as the development of habits of sustained attention, overcoming obstacles, seeing relations, reflective thinking, and ideals of achievement. We do not question the desirability of such outcomes, but we believe that they should be set apart in a group of concomitant or character-building objectives and kept in mind as principles that are valuable in determining how rather than what techniques and methods are to be used.

The most important of the objectives that the Report of the Classical Investigation calls "ultimate" is "the ability to read, speak, and write English." The value of translation when properly done is not open to question, but the contribution of "translation English" to the ability to write English has been severely challenged.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Woodring's study, which was based on a study of translations in the answer papers of candidates by the College Entrance

<sup>2</sup> Miller, S. R., and Briggs, T. H., "The Effect of Latin Translation on English," *School Review* xxxi (December, 1923); Price, Thompson, Richards, "Translation English," *School and Society* xxiii, No. 576 (January 9, 1926); Woodring, M. N., *The Quality of English in Latin Translations*. Doctoral Dissertation: New York, Bureau of Publications, Columbia University (1925).

Examination Board, was unfair in its sweeping conclusion if we are to infer that the students under the stress and strain of an examination in which they attempted to express ideas that they did not have never used better English in their daily work than in their examination papers. The findings were fair to the degree that they revealed how many teachers in their frantic effort to cover the ground are satisfied with "translation English."

Translation, in my judgment, should not be regarded as an objective (either immediate or ultimate) but rather as a skill growing naturally out of full comprehension of what the author says. It presupposes command of the English idiom and sentence structure, which (alas!) the student so often lacks. Formerly, when English grammar was taught and pupils actually knew parts of speech, the problem of passing directly from comprehension to English expression was less serious than it is today. If the highly selected group of students preparing for college could not make the leap, certainly the heterogeneous and democratic group in the secondary schools of today will not be able to do so.

It seems reasonable, therefore, that we should recognize a new aim in the teaching of Latin, which should include among its major activities a new activity midway between reading and translation. This activity we may call interpretation. It is aimed directly at understanding and appreciation of meanings. By interpretation we mean the act of explaining. The pupil interprets when he tells in his own words or from his own point of view what the author means.

Unfortunately, there is no one interpretative technique that will guarantee full comprehension. A metaphrase, or a literal translation, will carry one a long way in the direction of accurate understanding of a Latin phrase or clause, and it may bring him into close proximity to the English idiom. A paraphrase of a passage will reveal only general understanding. Therefore, when the pupil fails to see the connection of the passage with what has gone before, the class should discuss this connection. If the passage is obscure because of what it does not say, it should be explained in the light of some background or of some collateral reading that he has done. Questions in English based on content or back-

ground are good examples of interpretative devices. While no one of these activities guarantees complete understanding, their combined use should enable the pupil to understand what he is reading and should result in his ability to translate into acceptable English. When we restate the primary aim in the teaching of Latin, we shall, therefore, make due provision for interpretation.

But what shall we do about the reading of Latin? My mention of interpretation before reading is merely an instance of *hysteron proteron*. Reading is the first major activity. Oral reading is the first step in understanding, just as fluent and reasonably accurate pronunciation of Latin is essential in the development of power to read Latin orally.

Besides oral reading, the pupil should engage in a variety of activities that will give him a knowledge of the general principles of Latin word order and word grouping, a mastery of necessary vocabulary, an accurate knowledge of needed forms, and a working knowledge of their function.

At the beginning of this discussion we hinted at certain shortcomings of the immediate objective as stated in the Report of the Classical Investigation. The pitfalls in the committee's statement of the immediate objective are: first, its implied passivity; second, the unhappy use of the word "immediate"; and third, failure to provide for appreciation.

Speaking to the first objection, we may say that teachers in general have accepted the principle of reading, but there are many who believe that reading is more than a passive process. It is hopeless to expect high-school boys and girls to accomplish in a few semesters what the Romans themselves were able to accomplish only in a lifetime. The Latin language was the medium of expression for the Roman just as English is the medium for the American child. If the Roman had been required to learn a foreign language by a direct method he would have been deprived of the advantage of using his mother tongue; in the same manner, our boys and girls are deprived of the advantage of using their own experiences as an aid in comprehending Latin if they are taught solely by the direct method. Not only is such a procedure a violation of the principle of *apperception*, but, what is more significant,

it robs the pupil of whatever benefit he may gain from the cultural or correlating activities, which obviously must be conducted in the mother tongue. It is our belief, therefore, that we need a new definition which shall be stated in terms of our actual procedures and in harmony with accepted principles of learning.

The second pitfall is the use of the word "immediate," to which many have objected. The word seems to imply that Latin is an artificial and a temporary structure built at great cost of time and effort in order to provide a foundation for the permanent building of "ultimate" values. Such a point of view exposes us to the shafts of our enemies who argue that many of these values can be acquired more economically in connection with other subjects. We cannot return too soon to the earlier conviction that an acquired knowledge of the Latin language is not a temporary stage in our teaching but rather our central purpose. Mastery of the language is essential to success. If we fail to teach the subject with this in mind, our pupils will very soon be lost in a jungle of bewilderment and discouragement. We favor a psychological order in the teaching of forms and functional syntax during the developmental stage, but we are convinced that failure on the part of the pupil to organize and master related facts after they have been met and understood is largely responsible for the high mortality and general lack of third- and fourth-year classes.

The third defect in the immediate objective—failure to provide for appreciation—is another important factor in accounting for the small number of third- and fourth-year Latin classes. I am not unaware that there are sociological and economic causes beyond our control for this unhappy state of affairs, but, waving those possible causes aside, we may well ask ourselves whether we are increasing the pupils' satisfaction with the Latin language and literature when we postpone the reading of classical Latin until the fourth semester and substitute for the third semester made Latin, which is too frequently puerile, devoid of interest, and woefully lacking in classical flavor. The practical consequence of such a policy is that the majority of high-school Latin pupils are exposed to classical Latin for only one semester and sometimes less. It is entirely possible to modify and abridge Caesar in such a

manner that it can be read during the third semester with a reasonable degree of understanding and appreciation. In the restatement of our aim we should, therefore, provide for the reading of classical Latin or good made Latin of a classical flavor.

While we cannot claim that this restatement of the aim is fool-proof, we are ready to hazard a chance in the face of the evidence. As a substitution for the immediate objective we therefore offer the following statement: *The constant primary aim in the study of secondary Latin is the gradual growth of power to read and understand, interpret, and appreciate such classical Latin or Latin of a classical flavor as is suited to the capacity and aptitude of the learner.*

Among the more important implications in such a revised statement of the aim are the following:

1. Greater emphasis is placed on the mastery of Latin *per se* with increased success and satisfaction.
2. Through interpretation reflective thinking is stimulated, and appreciation is encouraged.
3. Proper emphasis is placed on those correlating activities which make a direct contribution to the acquisition of Latin.
4. With the exception of translation, those correlating activities which are commonly regarded as application of Latin to situations outside the Latin class are reversed, after they have been taught (if they need to be taught at all), and made to contribute directly to the mastery of Latin.
5. In the realization of the constant primary aim due recognition is given to the two major activities, reading and interpretation.
6. Translation, while recognized as an important activity, is so taught as to guarantee a definite contribution to the pupil's ability to speak and write English.
7. The pupil is not asked to translate a passage until he has had practice, first, in reading and, second, in interpretation.
8. Simplification of Latin leads into the ability to read small units of classical Latin or Latin with a genuine classical flavor; made Latin is not extended over so long a period of time that the two-year pupils are robbed of their opportunity of reading a considerable amount of classical Latin.

## GRAFT IN ANCIENT ATHENS

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The man who first thought of calling the magistrate who dips his hand into the public purse a grafter borrowed his figure of speech from horticulture, for grafting originally meant the insertion of a scion into a cleft of a tree where it had no place in the order of nature. The slip lives off the tree upon which it is grafted; the grafter preys upon the public treasury either directly by reaching into the public purse or indirectly by selling immunities or privileges.

Few need to be enlightened on the delinquency of modern politicians. Many Americans have come to define a politician as one who preys on public funds. Without attempting to settle the question as to whether the official of ancient Athens was more of a grafter than the modern public servant, we can consider the graft of ancient Athens as a manifestation of the perennial corruptibility of man and note the extraordinary means then taken to insure honesty in public officials.

The Greeks were a highly individualistic people and never submitted easily to tyranny. Ancient Greece was not a nation from whose capital orders were sent throughout the peninsula. The Greeks could never form any closer bond of union than a league. After the defeat of the Persians, Athens headed a confederacy centred on the island of Delos. The islands of the Aegean entered this combination with a feeling that they were preserving their freedom, but when they sought to withdraw, as one would expect the liberty-loving Hellene to do, they were subjugated by what soon came to be the Athenian Empire.

From the point of view of subjects of the Athenian Empire, with

the exception of the Chians, Lesbians, and Samians, Athens represented graft. The tribute paid by the islanders, it had been initially understood, was to be used to build up military resistance to Persia. There was consternation among the allies when it was discovered that the Athenians were using a part of this tribute for the embellishment of Athens by constructing public buildings, an enterprise that was of no value to the subject city-states. When they remonstrated, it was made clear to them that they had no reason for complaint so long as Athens defended them against Persia. Moreover, Athens demanded that all legal cases of any moment not involving local contracts should be tried at that Athens which was being beautified at the expense of the islanders. This system gave occupation to many jurors and was a source of income to men who furnished the accommodations visitors would need during the lengthy stay that often preceded the actual trial. An unidentified author of aristocratic sympathies, commonly called the Old Oligarch, details the hardships this system brought to the unfortunate men in distant parts of the Empire who had to present themselves for trial. He states that the Athenians had more business to get through than all the rest of mankind put together and at the same time celebrated more festivals than any other Hellenic city. One might have to wait a year before his case would come up for trial. But the Old Oligarch intimates that there were means of expediting the hearing of one's case:

Some people tell us that if the applicant will only address himself to the Council or the people with a fee in his hand, he will have his business done. For my part I agree with those persons that a good many things are accomplished at Athens by dint of money; and I will add that a good many more still might be done if the money flowed still more freely and from more pockets. One thing, however, I know full well, that as to transacting with every one of these applicants all he wants, the state could not do it, not even if all the gold and silver in the world were the inducement offered.<sup>1</sup>

The Old Oligarch is strongly opposed to democracy, as is clearly seen from other passages in his work, and sees little to admire in

<sup>1</sup> "Old Oligarch," *Polity of the Athenians* III, 1-3. The translation of Dakyns, *Works of Xenophon*, has been revised by E. G. Sihler. Cf. G. W. Botsford and E. G. Sihler, *Hellenic Civilization*: New York, Columbia University Press (1915), 232 f.

the rule of the people of Athens. But he does not adduce definite instances of graft, and since his testimony begins with "Some people tell us," it may be that he was not in a position to defend his statement but was only recording a rumor.

If money could hasten the process of the trial, it does not follow that the verdict would be unjust in itself. Such a practice would nevertheless be graft because the litigant purchased prior consideration of his case. This would be unjust to those who were forced to wait the longer on that account.

The Old Oligarch insinuates a great deal when he says that "a good many things are accomplished at Athens by dint of money; and . . . a good many more still might be done if the money flowed still more freely and from more pockets," but one wonders if the charge is not colored by the Old Oligarch's aristocratic prejudices. The Athenians honestly strove to lessen the possibility of bribery. The size of their juries evinces an earnest attempt to overcome graft. If the sum involved in a case that the arbitrators had failed to settle was under 1000 drachmas, 201 judges would hear the case; if over this amount, 401.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes on very important cases the number of jurors might be 500, 700, 1000, 1500, 2000, or 2500. Probably these figures should be raised by one, as it was always thought advisable to avoid the possibility of a tie.

It would certainly be difficult to bribe large juries, but this was accomplished toward the end of the fifth century. Aristotle tells us<sup>3</sup> that bribery came in after jurors were paid, a measure that Pericles favored to gain the good will of the people. The first to make use of bribery, he informs us, was Anytus, who was accused of the negligence that led to the recapture of Pylus by the Spartans in 411.

It was to offset the possibility of corrupting juries that the practice was introduced of not letting the jurors know on what case they would sit until they came to court, where lots were cast to determine where they would serve. The method of impaneling a jury was most complicated,<sup>4</sup> but its very complexity is evidence of an earnest attempt to keep jurymen from being corrupted.

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* liii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xxvii.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* lxiii.

Although these juries were large in number and certainly not "fixed," it does not thereby follow that their decisions were always just. A citizen of means, when facing a large jury, would certainly find it hostile, for he represented the wealthy and was being judged by the poor. A jury of this size was a mob and often displayed mob psychology. Most of the members of it certainly did not know fine points of law. The litigants presented their own cases. There was no cross-questioning. No judge explained the law to the jury. A man who could play on the emotions of the jury had a better chance than a less gifted orator. A citizen who had served his country might include this in his argument and receive consideration on this entirely irrelevant basis.

Once democratic Athens became the capital of the empire, the number of citizens on the city pay roll became proportionately greater than that of any city in the United States. Aristotle in discussing the number of city employees after the Persian wars puts the figure at more than twenty thousand.<sup>5</sup> But in Athens men who "worked for the city" really had something to do and often toiled long hours for a very small salary.

Take the case of these jurors, of whom there were 6000<sup>5</sup> in Athens. Aristophanes in his *Wasps* has left us an amusing picture of one of them. He has applied himself so zealously to his legal duties that he is on the verge of a nervous breakdown. He outlines in this fashion the advantages of being a justice:

Away, away, like a racer gay, I start at once from the head of the lists,  
To prove that no kinglier power than ours in any part of the world exists.  
Is there any creature on earth more blest, more feared and petted from day to  
day,  
Or that leads a happier, pleasanter life, than a Justice of Athens, though old  
and gray?  
For first when rising from bed in the morn, to the criminal Court betimes I  
trudge,  
Great six-foot fellows are there at the rails, in anxious haste to salute their  
Judge.  
And the delicate hand, which has dipped so deep in the public purse, he claps  
into mine,  
And he bows before me and makes his prayer, and softens his voice to a pitiful  
whine:

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* xxiv.

"O pity me, pity me, Sire," he cries, "if you ever indulged your longing for pelf,

When you managed the mess on a far campaign, or served some office of state yourself."

The man would never have heard my name, if he had not been tried and acquitted before. . . .

So when they have begged and implored me enough, and my angry temper is wiped away,

I enter in and I take my seat, and then I do none of the things I say.

I hear them utter all sorts of cries, designed expressly to win my grace,

What won't they utter, what won't they urge, to coax a Justice who tries their case?

Some vow they are needy and friendless men, and over their poverty wail and whine,

And reckon up hardships, false and true, till he makes them out to be equal to mine.

Some tell us a legend of days gone by, or a joke from Aesop witty and sage, Or jest and banter to make me laugh, that so I may doff my terrible rage.

And if all this fails, and I stand unmoved, he leads by the hand his little ones near,

He brings his girls and he brings his boys; and I, the Judge, am composed to hear.

They huddle together with piteous bleats; while trembling above them he prays to me,

Prays as to a God his accounts to pass, to give him a quittance, and leave him free.<sup>6</sup>

This veteran of the wars hears cases from dawn to dusk and receives as a recompense about ten cents. There can be little doubt that he earned his money.

When some public servant of our time dips his hand into the public purse, the indignant citizen who is interested may write a letter to his newspaper, which may or may not find its way into print. A few friends may read his letter and sympathize with his point of view. In ancient Athens, however, every magistrate had his accounts examined by ten auditors, who in turn brought the matter up before the popular law courts. The punishment that was meted out to one who embezzled public funds was tenfold the amount appropriated. If it was proved that he had accepted bribes, the same ratio of multiple restitution held.<sup>7</sup> Pericles was

<sup>6</sup> Aristophanes, *Wasps* 548-571. The translation is that of B. B. Rogers.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* liv.

found guilty of theft to the extent of five talents by a jury of 1501 and compelled to pay ten times that amount into the treasury.

Athens felt that the man who really loved her would never be willing to betray her by dipping his hand into the public purse, by accepting bribes or gifts, or by selling immunities with profit to himself. But she knew the tendency of the human heart to pursue selfish aims when a position of power is once attained. In order that the will of the people might not be frustrated she surrounded her leaders with every form of protection against temptation. If, in spite of this, they betrayed the city's trust, the punishment was swift and severe. . . . Athens knew that eternal vigilance is the price of freedom.

## Book Reviews

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[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Columbia, Mo. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

DAVID M. ROBINSON, *Excavations at Olynthus*, Part VII, The Terra-Cottas of Olynthus Found in 1931 (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology): Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press (1933). Pp. xii+111, with 3+61 plates. \$10.

Part VII of the *Excavations at Olynthus* presents interesting material to supplement the previous description of terra-cottas discovered in 1928. Over four hundred new examples are catalogued and illustrated, including figurines, masks, plaques, and plastic vases from early archaic times down to 348 B.C. Apparently Olynthus in its last fifty years was a flourishing centre of terra-cotta manufacture. Homes were lavishly decorated with many types of the ware, in some instances perhaps to avert the evil eye but usually for their ornamental effect. Most of the graves unearthed contained from three to five terra-cottas; eleven were found in one child's grave. Molds discovered in houses indicate that there may have been amateur as well as professional coroplasts. The numerous representations of satyrs and silenoi, negroes, and various birds and animals show that the residents of the city were blessed with playful humor. Bright colors (well reproduced in the three-color plates) were popular.

A great many of these figures are of monotonous mediocrity, but several deserve special attention. A few are reminiscent of great sculpture, e.g., the lovely Praxitelean head, number 122, and numbers 158 and 286, somewhat similar to figures from the Olympia pediments. Number 186, a dancer holding a painted tambourine, and number 157, an archaic standing figure, show pleasant artistic

feeling, and there is genuine monumental character in number 219, an archaic seated figure, number 139, a fifth-century female bust, and number 390, an early fourth-century head of Dionysus.

Dr. Robinson's descriptions are excellent. The illustrations, however, must be criticized for the engraver's contour lines, which mar their accuracy and charm.

WALTER R. AGARD

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GUIDO DELLA VALLE, *Tito Lucrezio Caro e l'Epicureismo Campano* (Atti dell' Accademia Potaniana, Vol. XLII): Napoli, Leonardo Bianchi (1933). Pp. 314.

The book under review is an attempt on the part of a distinguished professor in the University of Naples to prove that Lucretius was a Neapolitan and that he lived his life as a small Campanian farmer in the vicinity of Pompeii. Since we do not know where Lucretius was born nor yet where he lived, we can well afford to listen to the conjectures of a scholar who has a thorough and sympathetic understanding of the *De Rerum Natura*. The arguments on which he bases his thesis are as follows:

Rome and Latium never produced a poet or philosopher and never evinced any great interest in philosophy, that is, if we are willing to concede that Lucretius was not a Roman and the Arpinum, the birthplace of Cicero, was in Campania as Professor della Valle suggests. Magna Graecia with its Pythagoras, Empedocles, and Eleatics had been noted for its philosophic interests from earliest times. Such an environment and not the political, military atmosphere of Rome was likely to produce a poet-philosopher like Lucretius.

During the youth and young manhood of Lucretius Naples and Herculaneum could boast of two eminent Epicurean philosophers, Siro and Philodemus. Professor della Valle claims that Philodemus was the instructor of Lucretius. In the charred fragments of Philodemus found in the library of the Pisos at Herculaneum are a dozen or more passages that are parallel with lines that we find in the *De Rerum Natura*. It is obvious, however, that Philodemus and Lucretius might have drawn from the same sources.

Cicero had a villa at Pompeii. Lucretius may have been a guest at that villa. This would seem to explain Cicero's interest in the poem of Lucretius and Lucretius' interest in the *Aratea* of Cicero. The Memmius to whom Lucretius dedicated his work may have been a guest at Cicero's villa. Professor della Valle hopes that future excavations at Pompeii will bring to light a villa of Memmius.

The great temple of Venus at Pompeii, according to our author, suggested to Lucretius his opening lines addressed to Venus. But there are some who believe it far more likely that Lucretius had in mind the Love that we find in Empedocles, to whom our poet gave such unstinted praise.

That which scholars have called the archaistic tendency of Lucretius, della Valle (seeming to forget the Lucretian borrowings from Ennius) would attribute to a certain rusticity of speech that one would expect to find in a Campanian farmer. A better proof that Lucretius was an agriculturist is furnished in the fact that many of the poet's keenest observations of nature are connected with the farm.

A home near the Bay of Naples easily accounts for the fine descriptions of the sea that we find in the *De Rerum Natura*.

These arguments taken separately or collectively are not conclusive. But it must be admitted that one who has followed them through as they are presented by Professor della Valle is likely ever afterwards to think of Lucretius as a son of Naples.

A good index would have made accessible the wealth of information in which the book abounds.

CHARLES N. SMILEY

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T. MACCIUS PLAUTUS, *T. Macci Plauti Menaechmi*, Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Nicholas Moseley and Mason Hammond: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1933). Pp. x+131. \$1.50.

With the intention of preparing a single play of Plautus for the needs of college freshmen, the editors were wise in making the

*Menaechmi* their choice. This play lacks the noble character development of the *Captivi* and the romantic setting of the *Rudens*, but it has excellences of another kind. These consist in its unity of construction, its natural and rapid action (there is no tricky slave to impede or pervert its course), its clever dialog, and its fun-provoking situations. The central motive of the play, the comical errors that arise from the resemblance of twins, was a favorite one in Greek comedy, as it has been on the modern stage.

The aim of the editors—*multum in parvo*—is consistently carried out. The introductory matter presents a sketch of Greek and Roman comedy and the antique stage and its production, a brief discussion of language and grammar in which Plautine usage differs from Ciceronian, and a rather full treatment of meters and prosody. The notes, which almost entirely dispense with cross references to other plays of Plautus and Terence, are judicious as to inclusion and exclusion.

Not long since a distinguished scholar noted the tendency of reviewers to find fault with books not for what they are but for what they are not. At the risk of giving further justification for this mild protest, the reviewer cannot refrain from saying that there is little need for more editions of individual plays of Plautus. What is needed and has long been needed is the happy combination of enterprise of publisher and assiduity of editor that will produce a moderately priced edition of several of the Plautine plays. Of these a normal freshman class under proper guidance will in a semester read at least three, while a good class will read four or more.

H. V. CANTER

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ANNE C. E. ALLINSON, *Selected Essays*: New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co. (1933). Pp. xviii+286. \$3.

"Their home is the nearest thing we have in America to a *salon*," said a distinguished American scholar half a dozen years ago. He was speaking of the hospitable house of Francis G. and Anne C. E. Allinson. Both of these classical scholars have since died, but the collection of Mrs. Allinson's essays recently published will summon

them back vividly to all who knew their home or them. It should appeal more widely, for it is redolent of the finest things of Greek, of Roman, of American life.

Of these seventeen essays all but one have previously appeared in print but not in book form.

The added essay is unique. The woman whom it pictures is but thinly disguised, and the disguise vanishes altogether when we read of

that last beautiful decade of her married life, when she and her husband, his steps outdistancing hers only by a little, as it seemed, walked serenely toward the western horizon, aflame with the gold and crimson of a superb sunset. His fine scrupulous work reaped its reward in an assured reputation and her own writing grew in force and worth. Minted in the realities of life, her coin now began to circulate more freely in the market place. Friends surrounded them. If her professional years, before her marriage, had been her bright heyday, these were a nobler aftermath. Then she had often coqueted with life, being teased in turn by surprises and disappointments. And always there had been the fret of a divided soul—the outward gayety, the inward sense of deprivation. Now her life was knit up into one harmonious whole. Profound sorrow and profound joy had together rebuilt her inner world. The city of her soul at last stood foursquare. Nor had it fallen when evening fell upon her, when on the day before her sixtieth birthday her husband died.

With the paragraph just quoted we may profitably compare the following, from the essay called "On the Distaff Side":

My chief quarrel with the intellectualist is that she desires emotional isolation from the crowd. I once knew a brilliant woman to whom love was an illusion and marriage bourgeois. Aphrodite molded her to her will at last, but even then she refused full salvation. "Our love," she insisted, "is one of the great loves of history." So pompous was she in the face of nature and humanity!<sup>1</sup>

As teacher, as administrator, as journalist Mrs. Allison did not desire "emotional isolation from the crowd." Horace's "*odi profanum vulgus et arceo*" was foreign to her nature in one of the best of these essays, "Faces in the Roman Crowd."<sup>1</sup> She protests against it and against the disdainful aristocracy of Tacitus and the middle-class snobbery of Juvenal and Martial. Her purpose here is "the

<sup>1</sup> Evidently based, though this is not stated, on *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*. Leipzig (1895-97).

discovery of some of the forgotten men, women, and children of Rome." She finds them in their epitaphs, and her translations are simple, her comments brief. Thus: "Of C. Allidius Hermes, who lived sixty years, we know the single but sufficient fact that 'whatever he said his friends loved him.' "

The essay "Virgil and the New Patriotism" includes much matter in little space—not the least being a concise retelling of the theme of the *Aeneid*. In the interpretation that follows, Mrs. Allinson declares that "In Virgil's lifetime the Romans seemed really to be spreading peace and order throughout the nations. . . . No German is more convinced of the 'Ideal, Mission, Destiny' of his own people than Virgil was of Rome's." (These words were written in 1917; I doubt, however, if Mrs. Allinson could have foreseen Hitler.)

"Anima Candida" will be welcomed by all Vergil-lovers; it would be "required reading" for students of Vergil and of Horace. "The Acropolis and Golgotha" develops persuasively the theme that "the modern man or woman can combine the Greek ideal of self-development with the Christian idea of self-dedication." "A House in Athens" is full of the love of Greece which its writer could so well express. "Up on the Acropolis poppies and mallows, daisies and pale lilac blossoms creep out among the ruins."

Love of the classics, love of life, love of people—this book is eloquent of all three, and all three breathe in Mrs. Slaughter's eloquent prefatory tribute and from the marvelous likeness (a Genthe photograph) which forms the frontispiece. Many a passage from these essays will linger long in the minds of all readers longest, perhaps, in the minds of those who knew Mrs. Allinson, the following: "The sky had cleared, and the waning moon was a brilliant patch of gold athwart the east. She laughed. 'I'm not so battered, after all,' she said, 'and I think I shall set without clouds.' "

BEN C. CLOUGH

BROWN UNIVERSITY

JOSEPH EDWARD HARRY, *Greek Tragedy, Emendations, Interpretations, and Critical Notes*, Vol. I, Aeschylus and Sophocles: New York, Columbia University Press (1933). Pp. xxiii+232. \$4.50.

The contents of this book are well indicated by the subtitle. When complete in two volumes, the work will form a companion-piece to the author's future annotated edition of the thirty-three extant plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, to the lines of which edition (now finished, we are told, but apparently still waiting for a publisher) the references in the volume before us are made.

Professor Harry is well known as a veteran commentator on the texts of the Greek tragic poets. For the past thirty-five years he seems to have devoted almost his entire energies to this field of study, during which time his wide and constant reading of Greek authors and his keen grammatical observations have ever been focused upon the numerous problems of text criticism and interpretation that these plays present. Along with many interesting and learned discussions of the poet's meaning in this or that passage, which are aptly, sometimes perhaps too copiously, illustrated by reference to a wide range of ancient and modern literature, one will also find in these pages much information about the Greek language that is not obtainable elsewhere—"facts collected through long years of patient labor and corrections of errors in our textbooks, complacently handed down from generation to generation as statements of truth" The author proposes numerous emendations of his own, but the principles by which he is guided are nevertheless sane and sensible. He will exhaust the possibilities of interpretation before resorting to emendation; he often deems it necessary *not* to change the reading of the manuscripts in passages where others have departed from it; and he is wont to test a proposed emendation, whether it be his own or some one's else, very thoroughly and by reference to palaeographical considerations as well as to considerations of sense and usage. Professor Harry's grammatical learning, his ingenuity, and his intimate acquaintance with Greek tragic poetry, have probably enabled him to arrive at the correct reading in a number of passages where

others have failed; but certainty in matters of this kind is seldom attained and still more seldom acknowledged. In spite of all the erudition that may hopefully be brought to bear upon these questions, there must always remain a large number of passages—larger, I fancy, than Professor Harry with his great faith in emendation would admit—where one's decision must necessarily be based upon rather vague impressions and where one of several emendations is about as good as another. Nevertheless, the student of Greek tragedy cannot avoid dealing with questions of this nature, and in Professor Harry's book he will find a great deal of critical information in a relatively small space along with much that is helpful and stimulating. While the commentary is not complete but selective, it treats a large number of *loci* in each play. Thus, for example, on the *Agamemnon* there are some 255 notes ranging in length from half a line to two pages or more.

In the Introduction the author writes entertainingly and authoritatively about the business of text criticism, illustrating his points by numerous personal anecdotes and a great abundance of quotations from Greek, Latin, French, German and Spanish authors. The erudition here displayed will no doubt excite the admiration of those whose taste in such matters is not classical. The commentary on each play is preceded by a brief and able critique of the play itself as a work of art, and at the end, in addition to the English and Greek indices, there is a copious classified bibliography which should prove very useful to students and teachers of the Greek drama, whether they are interested in text criticism or not. In view of the richness of its contents, this is a book that no serious student of the tragic poets can afford to overlook.

B. E. PERRY

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

## Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Dorothy M. Bell, 216 Park Place, Brooklyn, New York. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest in the professional world, and to serve as a receiving centre and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and materials are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

### Material for the Bimillennium of Horace

Teachers in search of material for programs in commemoration of the Bimillennium of Horace will be interested in the following: Gow, William, and Coutts, David, *Odes of Horace Arranged for Singing in Schools and Colleges*: Service Bureau for Teachers. \$0.70. The eight odes which have been set to music are III, xiii, O fons Bandusiae; I, iv, Solvitur acris hiems; I, xxii, Integer vitae; IV, v, Divis orte bonis; II, xviii, Non ebur neque aureum; IV, vii, Diffugere nives; III, i, Odi profanum vulgus; III, ix, Donec gratus eram tibi.

Lugli, G., *Horace's Sabine Farm*, Translated by G. Bagnani. This booklet contains photographs, a map, a ground plan, and a full description of Horace's villa. It may be obtained from the Service Bureau for Classical Teachers, Washington Square East, 51 West Fourth Street, New York City.

Pamphlets on Italy. The Italian Tourist Information, 745 Fifth Avenue, New York City, will furnish free of charge tourist pamphlets on places of interest in Italy to any Latin teacher who desires to have them. These leaflets frequently contain excellent pictures and material of especial interest to Latin pupils.

*Sententiae Selectae ex Carminibus Horati Flacci*. A list of fifty quotations from the *Odes* for use in high-school Latin classes has been prepared by the students of the Horace class of Mary-

mount College, Salina, Kansas. The quotations are short, easily translated, and illustrative of the poet's homely philosophy and sound good sense. The list may be secured from the department of Latin of the college on receipt of eight cents in stamps to cover printing and postage.

#### A Suggestive Bibliography for Latin Clubs

##### BOOKS

- Latin Crossword Puzzle Book*: Boston, Allyn and Bacon. \$0.60.  
 Lawler, Lillian, *Easy Latin Plays*: New York, Macmillan Co. \$0.80.  
 Miller, F. J., *Two Dramatizations from Vergil* (in English): Chicago, University of Chicago Press. \$1.10.  
 Oller, M., and Dawley, E. K., *Little Plays from Greek Myths* (in English): New York, Appleton-Century Co. \$0.84.  
 Paxson, Susan, *Handbook for Latin Clubs*: Boston, D. C. Heath and Co. \$1.  
 Paxson, Susan, *Two Latin Plays for High-School Students*: Boston, Ginn and Co. \$0.64.  
 Schlicher, John J., *Latin Plays for Student Performances and Reading*: Boston, Ginn and Co. \$1.20.  
 Thursby, C. C., and Kyne, G. D., *Living Latin*, Book One, Latin Club Programs: New York, Macmillan Co., pp. 406 f. \$1.40.

##### MIMEOGRAPHED OUTLINES

These may be borrowed or purchased from the Service Bureau for Classical Teachers, Washington Square East, 51 West Fourth Street, New York City. The prices vary from five to twenty-five cents per pamphlet. When ordering, include the catalog number, as given below: Classical Club Programs from the Eastern High School, Baltimore, Maryland (157); Two Programs for Classical Clubs, Taken from the CLASSICAL JOURNAL for April, 1918, and March, 1922 (212); Notes on Classical Clubs in New York City (168); Games for Latin Clubs (146); Conundrums for the Latin Club (337); Suggestions for Latin Club Meetings (338); Supplementary Activities for Latin Clubs (351); Special Vergilian Programs for Latin Clubs (398); A Suggestion for Using Charades

## Persicos Odi

W. M. Thackeray (adapted)

Copyright, 1934, by H. C. Nutting

1. Dear Lu - cy, you know what my wish is, I hate all your French-i - fied fuss;  
 2. A plain leg of mut - ton, my Lu - cy, I prith-ee get read-y at three;

Your sil - ly en-trées and made dish - es Were nev-er in - tend - ed for us.  
 Have it smok-ing, ten - der and jui - cy, And what bet-ter meat can there be?

No foot-man in lace and in ruf - fles Need dan-gle be-hind my arm-chair.  
 And when it has feast-ed the mas-ter, 'Twill amp-ly suf-fice for the maid;

*ritard.*  
 And nev - er mind seek-ing for truf - fles Although they be ev - er so rare.  
 Mean-while I will smoke my ca - nas - ter, And tip - ple my ale in the shade.

Bimillennium Horatianum

in a Latin Club (472); Suggestions for a Roman Circus (477); A Roman Evening with a Cicero Class (300); Suggestions for a Classical Program (6); Topics for a Roman Life Exhibit (23); Latin Plays (44); Some Details about a Roman Banquet (94); An Old Roman Game (152); A List of Plays in English Suitable for Latin Programs (185); Constitution of the Latin Club Known as the S. P. Q. R. or the Roman Republic (189); The Presentation of Simple Latin Plays in High Schools (222); A List of Dances and Drills (254); How a Roman Spent His Day: A Short Bibliography for a Latin Club (285); Bibliography of Articles Helpful in Preparing Entertainments for Christmas (297); List of Latin Songs (45); A Bibliography for Roman Banquets (325); The Delphic Oracle (356).

#### Horatian Odes with Music

In the CLASSICAL JOURNAL for June, 1934, we published a translation of Horace, *Odes* III, iii, 1-3 and ii, 16-19, with a musical setting, by H. C. Nutting of the University of California. Attention has been called to the regrettable arrangement of the music in 3/4 time, which spoils the rhythm of the verses completely. But it is perfectly simple to think it over into 2/4 time, and then it goes very well.

It seems fitting that with the notice, in the department of Current Events, of the death of an eminent member of our guild we publish also his last contribution to Horatian songs—*Persicos odi*—on the preceding page.

## Current Events

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[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., and John Barker Stearns, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Victor D. Hill, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; G. A. Harrer, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Eugene Tavenner, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Frederic S. Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore., or to Fred L. Farley, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of this date.]

### Suggested Readings from Horace

The only genuine tribute to a literary man of any age is the reading of his books, and no praise can be called sincere that is not accompanied by some renewal of acquaintance with his writings. On this principle those of us who are celebrating the Horatian Bimillennium must take out our copies of Horace, dust them off, and, stealing time from the busy round of things we think we have to do, offer an invisible garland of rosemary to the poet. Since the entire body of Horace's works does not cover more than 7729 verses, it will not be a difficult task to read it all within about six months, if it is done systematically fifty lines a day excluding Sundays.

But such a preëminently human and social being as Horace can much better be enjoyed in company than in solitude. With a reading committee of about five, responsible for forty lines each, the whole seventy-seven hundred lines could be covered in two school years, if meetings were held every other week. Reading the lines, a chorus of voices of different quality and pitch secures a novel and beautiful effect. No one who has not participated in the group reading of Latin poetry can possibly appreciate the real beauty of the lines. By all means let the reading duties rotate, and let service on that committee be voluntary each time. Thirty-eight meetings so conducted, nineteen this

coming winter and the same number next year, would see all the verses completed.<sup>1</sup>

A shortened selection (2960 lines) that could be finished in less time and would still include most of the famous Horatian epigrams might consist of the following: *Odes* I, iii and xxxi; II, iii, vi, vii, x, and xviii; III, i, vi, xiii, xviii, xxi, xxiv, xxix, and xxx; IV, ii, iv, vii, and xii; *Epodes* II and XIII; *Satires* I, i, v, and ix; II, ii, iii, vi, and vii; *Epistles* I, i, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xiii, xiv, xvi, xvii, xviii, and xx; II, i; *Ars Poetica*.

Our high-school classes should also share in our reading, and, though we shall probably find widely varying ability to understand the poet, if we give generous help toward interpretation, we can pass on some of the Horatian flavor. Perhaps it will be better to offer younger students very short selections scattered along their course. With this plan in mind the following excerpts are suggested as being suitable for high-school classes: *Odes* I, iii, eight lines or more; II, x, eight lines or all; III, iii, eight lines; xiii, all; xxx, all; *Satires* I, ix, 1-19, 60-69, 74-78; II, vi, 1-5, 79-117; *Epistles* I, vi, eight lines; *Ars Poetica* 1-18, 309-322 (for some advice about writing).

Will you not gather eight or ten or twenty or three kindred spirits together to have a good time renewing your Horatian memories? Use the "Brief Bibliography" on the back of the *Service Bulletin* of the University of Iowa, Vol. xviii, No. 17 (April 28, 1934), for advice about editions and outside reading, choose a convenient scheme for regular meetings, and last of all please notify the chairman of the Committee on Reading that you are launched.

MILDRED DEAN

Chairman of the Horatian Reading Committee

ROOSEVELT HIGH SCHOOL  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

#### Translations of Horace by High-School Students

The Alabama State Teachers Association has inaugurated a praiseworthy scheme for the encouragement of the reading and translating of Horace by high-school students as a part of the bimillennial celebration. Three prizes are being offered to the high-school students of that state who will submit the best translations of one of Horace's odes.

This plan has been taken up by the General Chairman of the Bimillennium Horatianum for the American Classical League, Roy C. Flickinger of the University of Iowa, and a special Committee on Translating Horace has been

<sup>1</sup> This has been the plan of one reading circle that is now beginning its eighth consecutive winter of meetings. The members are unanimous in the conviction that the most important regulation of all has been the one that forbids the hostess to serve anything but tea and two kinds of crackers! No eyebrows are lifted if one of the reading committee pleads, "Not prepared today!"

appointed and is at work to make the movement nation-wide. Several states have already received it with enthusiasm. The special committee is composed of Jessie D. Newby, Chairman, Edmond, Oklahoma; Clara Bell Senn, Birmingham, Alabama; and Lourania Miller, Dallas, Texas. This committee proposes the following:

## REGULATIONS

1. Contestants may not be less than twelve years of age nor more than twenty-one.
2. Contestants may not be high-school graduates.
3. Contestants must be taking Latin in a public, private, or parochial institution that gives one to four years work in Latin of high-school rank. This may be in a junior or senior high school, training school, preparatory school, or academy.
4. Each state entering the contest will work on one poem only. A list of poems will be made up by the national jury. As each state enters the contest it will be numbered. It will then have choice of poems in the order of entry.
5. Each state will determine and finance its own state awards and contest.
6. Each state will form its own jury to select the three best productions.
7. Translations may be made in poetry, blank verse, or prose. The three best productions will then be sent to the national jury, which will select the national winners.
8. Five copies, all originals, are to be sent to the state contest chairman or person designated by him or her.
9. All productions are to be sent to the state jury by May 1, 1935, and to the national jury by July 1, 1935. Announcement will be made on December 8, 1935, Horace's two thousandth birthday.

## SUGGESTIONS FOR PROCEDURE

*Method of Rating to Be Used by the Jurors.*—If less than five hundred productions are entered, the ten best in his opinion are to be chosen by each juror. He shall rate these in the order of their excellence—the best one "1," the second "2," etc. If there are more than five hundred entered, the number rated shall be two per hundred or major fraction thereof. Each juror will then turn his list to the jury chairman, who will average the ratings of those translations which have been rated by all the jurors. The production receiving the lowest rating wins first place, etc. The jury chairman of each state will then have made five new copies of the winning productions, retaining the identifying numbers, and send these to the national contest chairman at Edmond, Oklahoma. She will give each a new number and send one copy of each to each national juror. The national jurors will make their selections by rating in the same manner as the state jurors did and will communicate their rating with numbers of productions to the national jury chairman, who will determine the national winners by averaging these ratings.

*Composition of State Contest Committees and State Juries.*—If possible, combine the "Translation of Horace" contest with any state or district Latin contest already organized. Use machinery already set up. It is best to have a small contest committee. Three members are enough; but each state is allowed to determine its own number. High-school teachers may serve on this committee. It is best to have five jurors. These should not be high-school teachers. One of them should be a non-Latin person to judge of literary merit only. State chairmen are being appointed by the national committee through the various state superintendents.

*Means of Communication.*—The plan may be communicated to the teachers by announcements at state and district meetings, through the columns of the state educational journal, if there is one, or by circular letters—any way the committee sees fit. Sometimes a circular letter can be sent out with something from the state department of education.

*Prizes.*—Professor George Currie of Birmingham-Southern, Birmingham, Alabama, has to offer plaques of Horace in marble, bronze, and plaster. The marble plaque costs \$15.00; the plaster, \$2.00. Write him if interested. Classical books would make suitable prizes. But most of us will be able only to send a certificate of merit. The honor is the thing. The ancient poet received only a crown of laurel or ivy or a palm.

*Funds.*—If a state wishes, it may charge each participating school a small enrollment fee, e.g., fifty cents, and prizes may be paid for from this fund. Any amount left after the prizes are bought may be used to defray the other expenses of the contest.

#### **Ohio State University—University of Minnesota**

Professor Marbury B. Ogle, who has been since 1925 the chairman of the department of classical languages at Ohio State University and has spent the last three years in Rome as professor in charge of the School of Classical Studies of the American Academy, has accepted a call to the University of Minnesota as head of the Latin department, succeeding Professor J. B. Pike, who has retired from active service. Beginning with the school year of 1935 the departments of Latin and Greek at the University of Minnesota will be united into one department of classical languages with Professor Ogle as chairman.

#### **The George Washington University**

Lester Kruger Born, formerly of Western Reserve University, joined the faculty of The George Washington University with the opening of the 114th academic year, on September 19, as Assistant Professor of Classical Languages and Literatures and Executive Officer of the Department. Dr. Born succeeds Dr. Charles Sidney Smith, formerly head of the department at The George Washington University, who was retired last June after thirty-four years of service.

**University of California, Berkeley**

Herbert C. Nutting, Professor of Latin at the University of California, died at Berkeley on September 23, 1934, at the age of sixty-two. His college and university training was received at Yale University, where he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1897. His whole teaching career of thirty-seven years was in the service of the University of California. The CLASSICAL JOURNAL herewith pays tribute to his generous coöperation as Editor for the Pacific States from 1916 to 1930. He was active in the work of the Pacific Coast Philological Association from its inception and served as its president in 1918-19. He was from the beginning one of the editors of the University of California Publications in Classical Philology. The list of his published books and monographs is a long and enviable one. Death overtook him as he was correcting the proof of a translation of Pierino Belli's *De Re Militari et Bello Tractatus* undertaken for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

His life was that of a scholar and teacher. As one of his colleagues has written to the Editor, "Dr. Nutting was a gentle soul, whose labors were devoted unswervingly to his field of study and his university."

**Mt. Vernon, Iowa**

During the year 1933-34 the Latin club at Cornell College studied Greek and Roman drama with readings from selected plays in translation. Plautus, Terence, Aristophanes, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides were considered during the year. Monthly meetings were held at the home of Professor and Mrs. Hutchinson, and each program was in the hands of a committee. In addition to the serious part of the program the club engaged in the singing of Latin songs and the playing of Latin games. Professor Flickinger, of the University of Iowa, gave an illustrated lecture on "Greece Revisited" at an open meeting of the club. During commencement the speech department of the college very creditably presented the *Antigone* of Sophocles on the steps of the college library. As is customary, the activities of the year ended with a picnic at the Palisades State Park on the Cedar River. The program for the year 1934-35 will consist of a study of some of the great personages of Greece and Rome.

**Rome, Fellowships in the American School**

Fellowships in classical studies, probably three in number, each to run for a term of two years, are to be awarded by the American Academy in Rome. Each fellow will receive free tuition and residence at the Academy and an allowance of \$1400 a year. Opportunity is offered for extensive travel, including a trip to Greece. The competitions are open to unmarried citizens of the United States who are not over thirty years of age.

Persons who desire to compete for one of these fellowships must fill out a

formal application and file it with the Executive Secretary not later than February 1, 1935. They must at the same time submit evidence of ability to read Latin, Greek, French, and German and of attainment in Latin literature, Greek literature, Greek and Roman history, and archaeology. A knowledge of Italian is strongly recommended.

Candidates will be required without fail to present published or unpublished papers so as to indicate their fitness to undertake special work in Rome. The Academy reserves the right to withhold an award in case no candidate is considered to have reached the desired standard. Each appointment will be made with the understanding that continuation of the fellowship for a second year will rest entirely upon the career of the fellow in the first year. That career must be satisfactory to the staff of the School in Rome and to the Committee on the School of Classical Studies.

For detailed circular and application blank apply to Roscoe Guernsey, Executive Secretary of the American Academy in Rome, 101 Park Avenue, New York City.

#### **Athens, Fellowships in the American School**

Three fellowships, each with a stipend of \$1300, are offered for 1935-36, two in Greek archaeology and one in the language, literature, and history of ancient Greece. These fellowships are open to graduates and graduate students, men and women, of colleges and universities in the United States. The awards are based on the results of competitive examinations which will be held February 11-13, 1935, at places convenient to the candidates. The examinations assume a degree of preparation which usually requires one or more years of graduate work. A statement of the requirements and copies of recent examination papers will be sent on request.

The primary object of the fellowships is to encourage research in some field of Greek studies that can best be carried on in Greece. The fellowships are also intended to give to advanced students of the classics or of Greek archaeology, through organized travel in Greece, a first-hand knowledge of the land and of its more important sites and archaeological remains.

Applications, which must be made before January 1, 1935, and all inquiries for further information should be addressed to the Chairman of the Committee on Fellowships, Professor Samuel E. Bassett, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont.

## Recent Books<sup>1</sup>

[Compiled by Russel M. Geer, Brown University.]

- BRANTON, JAMES R., *Common Text of the Gospel Lectionary in the Lenten Lessons* (Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament, Vol. II, No. 1): Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1934). Pp. 28. \$0.25.
- CARROLL, LEWIS (CHARLES L. DODGSON), *The Hunting of the Snark*, Rendered into Latin Verse by Percival R. Brinton: London and New York, Macmillan Co. (1934). Pp. v+57. 2s. 6d.; \$1.10.
- CICERO, *Pro Roscio Amerino*, With Vocabulary,<sup>2</sup> Edited by J. C. Nicol (Pitt Press Series): New York, Macmillan Co. (1934). Pp. xxxi+178. \$0.90.
- CICERO, *Tusculanarum Disputationum Libri Quinque*, Text Revised with Introduction and Commentary and a Collation of Numerous Manuscripts by T. W. Dougan and R. M. Henry, Vol. II (Bks. III-v): Cambridge, Eng., University Press; New York, Macmillan Co. (1934). Pp. iv+308. 21s.; \$6.25.
- CLAUDIANUS, CLAUDIUS, *Rape of Proserpine*, In English Verse by R. M. Pope: London, J. M. Dent and Sons (1934). Pp. 116. 2s. 6d.
- COPENHAGEN, NATIONALMUSEET, *Greek and Latin Illuminated Manuscripts in Danish Collections*: Copenhagen, Levin and Munksgaard (1934). Pp. 52, 64 plates. 56 kr.
- CORDER, PHILIP, *Excavations at the Roman Fort at Brough-on-Humber*: Hull, Eng., Brough-on-Humber Excavation Committee (1934). Pp. 38. 1s.
- DENNISTON, JOHN D., *Greek Particles*: London and New York, Oxford University Press (1934). Pp. lxxxii+600. 25s.; \$9.
- ERASMUS, DESIDERIUS, *Opus Epistolarum*, Denuo Recognitum et Auctum per P. S. Allen et H. M. Allen, Tom. VIII, 1529-1530: London and New York, Oxford University Press (1934). Pp. xlv+516, 3 plates. 28s.; \$10.
- GAUCHE, WILLIAM J., *Didymus the Blind*, An Educator of the Fourth Century. Thesis: Washington, Catholic University of America (1934). Pp. 138. \$1.25.
- HETTICH, ERNEST L., *Study in Ancient Nationalism*, The Testimony of Euripides: Williamsport, Pa., Bayard Press (1933). Pp. 71. \$1.
- HORACE, *Seventy Odes*, Translated into English Verse with Notes and Latin Text by H. B. Mayor: London, J. W. Arrowsmith (1934). Pp. 247. 6s.

<sup>1</sup> Including books received at the Editorial Office of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL, Columbia, Mo.

- LIGHTFOOT, G. C., *Progressive Latin Exercises*: London, Rivingtons (1934). Pp. 161. 2s. 6d.
- LIVY, *Hannibal, The Scourge of Rome*, Being Selections from Livy XXI, Edited by E. D. C. Lake and F. S. Porter (Cambridge Elementary Classics): Cambridge, Eng., University Press (1934). Pp. xviii+104. 2s.
- MACDONALD, SIR GEORGE, *Roman Wall in Scotland*:<sup>2</sup> London and New York, Oxford University Press (1934). Pp. xvi+492. 30s.; \$11.50.
- MANDRA, RAYMOND, *Time Element in the Aeneid of Vergil*: New York, Institute of French Studies (1934). Pp. xxiii+256. \$2.
- MUNDY, TALBOT, *Tros of Samothrace*: New York, Appleton-Century Co. (1934). Pp. 949. \$3.
- PAN ARISTOPHRON (pseud.), *Plato's Academy, The Birth of the Idea of Its Rediscovery*: London, Oxford University Press (1934). Pp. 98. 5s.
- RABY, F. J. E., *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols.: London and New York, Oxford University Press (1934). Pp. xii+408, vii+388. \$12.50.
- ROBERTSON, J. C., *Latin Songs, New and Old*: Toronto, University of Toronto Press (1934). Pp. 64. \$0.40.
- ROSE, HERBERT J., *Handbook of Greek Literature from Homer to the Age of Lucian*: London, Methuen and Co. (1934). Pp. 464. 21s.
- STÄHLIN, FRIEDRICH, MEYER, ERNST, and HEIDNER, ALFRED, *Pagasai und Demetrias*, Beschreibung der Reste und Stadtgeschichte: Berlin and Leipzig, Walter de Gruyter (1934). Pp. x+267, 35 figures and 24 plates. M. 27.
- THUCYDIDES, *Complete Writings*, Unabridged Crawley Translation with an Introduction by Joseph Gavorse (Modern Library of the World's Best Books): New York, Modern Library (1934). Pp. 544. \$0.95.
- WOODALL, ALLEN E., *The Curse of Dido* (Sequel to *Aeneas*): Utica, N. Y., Sunset Press (1934). Pp. 63.